

THE JOURNALISTIC CIVIL RIGHTS ADVOCACY OF
HARRY GOLDEN AND THE CAROLINA ISRAELITE

By

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This dissertation is dedicated to the late Herschele Lewis Goldhirsch--better known as Harry Golden. As a journalistic civil rights advocate and humanitarian, Golden was involved in mankind and lived a life worthy of historical examination.

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Abstract of Dissertation Presented to the Graduate School
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This study examines the journalistic civil rights advocacy of Harry Golden in the context of press facilitation of the modern civil rights movement. Golden's motivation, methods, and significance in advocating civil rights for black Americans are assessed. Golden's childhood, young adulthood, and early journalism career are explored for insight into factors which contributed to his motivation and philosophy concerning civil rights advocacy. The origin and use of the Carolina Israelite are investigated for insight into the form and substance of Golden's advocacy. Golden's appeal to influential segments of American society--such as government and civil rights leaders--is examined for insight into the significance of

his advocacy. The study also discusses subject matter that directly relates to Golden's advocacy. An overview of the modern civil rights movement is presented to clarify the setting in which Golden advocated civil rights. The press is discussed from the standpoint of interaction with the movement and eventual facilitation of movement objectives. The concept of personal journalism is also explored in order to provide insight into Golden's approach to journalism.

The study reveals that Golden's Jewish heritage, morality, journalistic social responsibility, and background as an immigrant were motivating factors which compelled him to advocate black civil rights. Likewise, Golden's motivation provided him with the strength to withstand opposition. The study also reveals that Golden utilized personal journalism through the Carolina Israelite to facilitate--amplify, advocate--better interracial communication, understanding, and acceptance. He incorporated various forms of satiric humor in his personal journalism including "Golden Plans," awards, poems, and anecdotes based on racial themes. Through amplification, Golden helped to magnify the importance and impact of the civil rights movement. Through advocacy, he complemented the work of the black press and helped fill a void in southern white press coverage of the movement. A variety of

people--average citizens through Presidents--were aware of Golden's journalism. Many of the people who had a direct impact on the progress and outcome of the movement--governmental and civil rights leaders--found his journalism appealing, enlightening, and inspiring.

CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION

From the bondage of slavery, through the violence and disenfranchisement of the post-Reconstruction period, to the inequality and segregation of the early and middle twentieth century, black Americans endured race-related oppression and repression.¹ However, from 1954 through 1968, America underwent a major transition in racial attitudes, traditions, and policies.² The people, organizations, and events--collectively a movement--which stimulated the transition were presented to the public by the press. In the process, not only was racial injustice exposed, but the modern civil rights movement--hereafter referred to as "the movement"--gained momentum and public support.

During the movement, many black and white Americans spoke out against racial injustice and rallied to erase the evils of racism and segregation. Harry Golden, a journalist and author, was one such person. As a northern Jew transplanted to the South, Golden witnessed the suffering and cruelty inflicted upon blacks by southern whites and empathized with the embattled blacks. Golden's experience

with race relations in Charlotte, North Carolina led him to believe that southern whites "put all their efforts into denying humanity to Negroes, depriving and dehumanizing them because of their color."³ As a result of his insight into southern race relations, he foresaw a revolution which he believed the major southern daily newspapers, all owned by whites, would downplay because "to report this story meant describing the lot of the Negro."⁴ To forestall this eventuality, during the 1950s and 1960s Golden editorialized in his newspaper, the Carolina Israelite. He also wrote books,⁵ wrote articles for other newspapers and magazines, and made personal and television appearances. He utilized these outlets to foster better understanding and relations between black and white Americans. With the tools of his outspoken views and satiric humor, Golden wrote about the struggle for black civil rights by vividly illustrating the absurdity of racism and the ludicrous nature of segregationist traditions and policies.⁶

Purpose

Civil rights leader Martin Luther King, Jr. once termed the racial conflict in America as "a struggle between the forces of good and evil."⁷ Harry Golden, a champion of

civil rights, urged the deliverance of black Americans from the evil of racism and the wrong of segregation. His advocacy of civil rights exemplified the zeal with which some segments of the press not only covered but facilitated the civil rights movement. However, the role that Golden played as a journalistic advocate in the quest for equality and civil rights for black Americans has not been examined in depth or systematically. The purpose of this study, therefore, is to construct a historical account which examines the background of Golden and assesses the role and significance of his journalistic civil rights advocacy. Golden is examined in the context of the press as a facilitator of social change--in this case, the attainment of civil rights for black Americans. In addition, through an examination of Golden's writing--primarily in the Carolina Israelite--this study examines his motivation and methods in advocating civil rights for blacks. Specifically, the study poses the following research questions:

1. Why did Harry Golden advocate civil rights for black Americans?
2. How did Harry Golden advocate civil rights for black Americans?
3. What was the significance of Golden's advocacy?

Plan of the Study

This study contains eight chapters. The first is an introductory chapter. The second chapter delineates concepts central to the study of Golden as a journalistic civil rights advocate. First, the concept of the press as a facilitator of social change is discussed. The examination then focuses on the concept of personal journalism.

The third chapter describes the historical background related to the study and the setting of the study. It examines the circumstances leading to, and the factors for, the modern civil rights movement. An overview of the movement is also presented.

The fourth chapter examines the interaction between various segments of the press and the civil rights movement. It discusses press coverage and advocacy of the movement and the movement's need for and use of press coverage. The chapter first concentrates on the transition of the civil rights movement from primarily a black press story to a topic covered by the national press. Next, the chapter concentrates on four of Golden's journalistic peers who also advocated civil rights and were admired by Golden.

The fifth chapter examines Golden's background and career development in the context of the origins of his

motivation to advocate black civil rights. The Chapter also examines Golden's philosophy concerning civil rights advocacy. The sixth chapter concentrates on Golden's use of the Carolina Israelite for civil rights advocacy. Discussed are the origin of the Israelite, the form and substance of civil rights advocacy in the paper, and opposition to Golden's advocacy and the Israelite. The closing of the paper is also discussed.

The seventh chapter concentrates on the appeal and significance of Golden and his journalistic civil rights advocacy. The discussion first addresses his interaction with and impact on civil rights organizations and leaders of the movement. Next, the discussion focuses on the role of the federal government in providing and protecting civil rights for blacks. Golden's appeal to and interaction with leaders of the Executive, Legislative, and Judicial branches of the federal government is also discussed. Lastly, institutional recognition and praise of Golden's advocacy are discussed. The final chapter draws conclusions from the study. It also assesses the implications and meaning of Golden's civil rights advocacy.

Scope of the Study

The scope of this study is delimited in several ways. The historical setting is the period from 1954 to 1968--a time span that covers most of the major events and accomplishments of the modern civil rights movement.⁸ This period also included Golden's most active years of civil rights advocacy. For background, selected and relevant events which occurred prior to the modern movement are discussed. Such events emphasize the interrelation between activities and circumstances surrounding the setting of the movement and activities and circumstances of earlier periods. Golden's background and career development prior to 1954 are discussed.

The study concentrates exclusively on Golden's involvement with civil rights for blacks. Although Golden often wrote about Jewry and a variety of social issues--immigration, full employment--the plight of blacks in America was a major theme in his writing.⁹ In addition, the study primarily focuses on Golden's civil rights advocacy through his own newspaper, the Carolina Israelite. To a lesser extent, Golden's advocacy via other outlets is mentioned to support the contention that his influence was far-reaching.

Procedure

The historical reconstruction and interpretation presented in this study is based on facts derived from the collection and evaluation of a wide variety of primary and secondary source material.¹⁰ Sources include, but are not limited to: Golden's newspaper, books, and other writings; Congressional testimony by Golden; Congressional reporting about Golden; personal letters to and from Golden; interviews; and secondary scholarly research--papers, journal articles, and dissertations relating to Golden. In addition, sources pertaining to the press, civil rights movement, and other topics covered by the study are utilized. Since the facts do not speak for themselves and must be linked together and given a voice,¹¹ the facts collected and evaluated for this study are used as the basis for historical reconstruction and interpretation.

Definition of Terms

Civil rights refers to the privileges and personal liberties to which all American citizens are entitled by the United States Constitution.

Modern civil rights movement refers to the actions and events through which individuals and organizations collectively pursued Constitutional privileges and liberties for black Americans. Many authors who have written about civil rights¹² described the time span of 1954--with the Supreme Court decision outlawing segregated schools in Brown v. Board of Education¹³--to 1968--with the assassination of Martin Luther King, Jr.¹⁴--as especially important. This time span included the major actions and events that shaped the attainment and implementation of civil rights court decisions, legislation, and the opportunity for participation in American society by blacks.

Disenfranchisement refers to the denial or elimination of privileges and liberties. Although the term can refer to a specific right to vote, in this study the word vote or suffrage is used when reference is made to the right to vote. Disenfranchisement is used to indicate the general denial of privileges and liberties, including, but not limited to, voting.

This study places emphasis on the print--newspaper--journalism of Golden. However, the word press is used in a general way to indicate the journalists and journalistic components of various media. For example, the term press can refer to journalists--such as newspaper reporters--and

journalistic components of the print media--newspapers, magazines. Press can also refer to journalists--such as television correspondents--or journalistic components of the broadcast media--such as television and radio news.

In addition, several segments of the press are discussed. The southern white press primarily refers to newspapers that were located in the southern United States and which were owned, operated, and under the editorial control of southern whites. The black press primarily refers to newspapers that were located throughout the United States that were owned, operated, and under the editorial control of black Americans. The national press refers to the journalistic components of the print and broadcast media that targeted a national audience. Examples of the national press include the news divisions of the major television networks--American Broadcasting Company (ABC), National Broadcasting Company (NBC), and Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS). News magazines like Time and Newsweek, and large newspapers like the New York Times and Washington Post are also included. The national press was primarily owned, operated, and under the editorial control of whites. Other terms and concepts are either self-explanatory, defined in the text as they are used, or discussed in Chapter 2.

Previous Related Research

Scholarly literature concerning Harry Golden is scarce. Three studies examined some aspects of Golden's life. However, the studies did not concentrate on his personal journalism and satiric editorializing as a form of civil rights advocacy. In addition, the studies did not place Golden's advocacy in the context of press facilitation of the struggle for black civil rights.

In a 1988 article for The North Carolina Historical Review, Robert Hohner examined Golden's young adult--pre-journalism--life as a stockbroker. In "The Other Harry Golden: Harry Goldhurst," Hohner reported that Golden failed in an early career as a stockbroker. Hohner also revealed the Golden subsequently became bankrupt and served time in prison for mail fraud.¹⁵

Leonard Ray Teel, in a paper presented to the history division of the Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication at their 1989 Southeast Colloquium, included Harry Golden in an examination of the friendship shared by poet and author Carl Sandburg, journalist and author Ralph McGill, and Golden. In "The Connemara Correspondents: Sandburg, Golden, and McGill," Teel indicated that between 1952 and 1967 Sandburg, Golden, and

McGill met frequently at Sandburg's home in North Carolina where they discussed literature, national politics, and civil rights. Teel also maintained that the friendship of the three men was cultivated by their meetings and correspondence, which in turn influenced and supported the liberal beliefs and writing of each.¹⁶

In a 1988 dissertation, "Harry Golden's Rhetoric: The Persona, the Message, the Audience," Margaret Nash Sides presented a rhetorical analysis of selected Golden essays, speeches, and correspondence. Nash investigated the rhetorical emphasis placed on audiences by Golden. She concluded that Golden used logic when attempting to induce action from his audience, and emotional appeals to attract their sympathy.¹⁷

Numerous newspaper and magazine articles were written by¹⁸ and about Golden. Such literature usually concentrated on Golden's personal journalism, humor, civil rights advocacy, human rights advocacy, Jewish heritage, or various combinations thereof. In addition, Golden wrote 20 books, including an autobiography, which also concentrated on various combinations of the aforementioned topics.¹⁹

Notes

¹W.E. Burghardt Dubois, Black Reconstruction in America: An Essay Toward a History of the Part Which Black Folk Played in the Attempt to Reconstruct Democracy in America, 1860-1880 (New York: Russell and Russell, 1935) 3-16, 630-633, 694-695, 702.

²Joseph Alvarez, From Reconstruction to Revolution: The Black Struggle for Equality (New York: Atheneum, 1971) 103.

³Harry Golden, The Right Time: An Autobiography, by Harry Golden (New York: Putnam, 1969) 239.

⁴Golden, The Right Time 250.

⁵Harry Golden's books include: The Best of Harry Golden (Cleveland: World, 1967); Carl Sandburg (Cleveland: World, 1961); Enjoy! Enjoy! (Cleveland: World, 1960); Ess, Ess Mein Kindt (New York: Putnam, 1966); For 2 Cents Plain (Cleveland: World, 1958); Forgotten Pioneer (Cleveland: World, 1963); The Golden Book of Jewish Humor (New York: Putnam, 1972); The Greatest Jewish City in the World (Garden City: Doubleday, 1972); The Israelis (New York: Putnam, 1971); Jews in American History (Charlotte: Martin, 1950); A Little Girl is Dead (Cleveland: World, 1965); Mr. Kennedy and the Negroes (Cleveland: World, 1964); Long Live Columbus (New York: Putnam, 1975); Only in America (Cleveland: World, 1958); Our Southern Landsman (New York: Putnam, 1974); The Right Time (New York: Putnam, 1969); So Long as You're Healthy (New York: Putnam, 1970); So What Else is New? (New York: Putnam, 1964); Travels Through Jewish America (Garden City: Doubleday, 1973); and You're Entitled (Cleveland: World, 1962).

⁶William Goldhurst, "My Father, Harry Golden" Midstream June/July 1969: 68, 73; William Goldhurst, personal interview, 27 Feb. 1989.

⁷Ralph David Abernathy, And the Walls Came Tumbling Down (New York: Harper and Row, 1989) 468.

⁸See definition of "modern civil rights movement" in the definition section.

⁹Douglas Robinson, "Harry Golden on Things Remembered" New York Times 26 Feb. 1968: 36.

¹⁰Jacques Barzun and Henry Graff, The Modern Researcher, 4th ed. (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1985) 21.

¹¹Barzun viii; Robert Shafer, ed. A Guide to Historical Method, 3rd ed. (Honewood: Dorsey, 1980) 1.

¹²For coverage of the civil rights movement see: David Garrow, Bearing the Cross: Martin Luther King, Jr. and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference New York: Vintage, 1988); Juan Williams, Eyes on the Prize: America's Civil Rights Years (New York: Penguin, 1988); Howell Raines, My Soul is Rested (New York: Putnam, 1977); and Joseph Alvarez, From Reconstruction to Revolution: The Black Struggle for Equality (New York: Atheneum, 1971).

¹³Oliver Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas, 74 S.Ct. 686; 347 U.S. 483 (1954).

¹⁴Abernathy 616-617.

¹⁵Robert Hohner, "The Other Harry Golden: Harry Goldhurst and the Cannon Scandals" The North Carolina Historical Review 65 (1988): 154-172.

¹⁶Leonard Ray Teel, "The Connemara Correspondents: Sandburg, Golden, and McGill" Research paper presented to the AEJMC Southeast Regional Colloquium--History Division, Chapel Hill, North Carolina, April 1989.

¹⁷Margaret Nash Sides, "Harry Golden's Rhetoric: The Persona, the Message, the Audience," Dissertation, Northern Illinois University, 1988.

¹⁸In addition to the Israelite, Golden wrote for publications like Life, Nation, and Commentary. Golden also wrote a nationally syndicated newspaper column, "Only in America."

¹⁹See note #5.

CHAPTER 2
THE PRESS, SOCIAL CHANGE, AND PERSONAL JOURNALISM:
A LITERATURE REVIEW

Based on a review of the relevant literature, this chapter delineates concepts that are central to the study of Harry Golden as a journalistic civil rights advocate. Golden, an influential personal journalist, exemplified press facilitation of the quest for black civil rights in America. Therefore, this chapter first examines the concept of the press as a facilitator of social change. Sociological, historical, journalistic, and civil rights perspectives are discussed. The latter perspective explores specific typologies through which the press facilitated the movement for black civil rights. The chapter also examines the concept of personal journalism in terms of definition, derivation, and function.

Press Facilitation of Social Change

Social change in American society has been explored in various ways by scholars from a variety of fields. For

example, some sociologists have examined why and how social change takes. In addition, some journalism historians have discussed the press as a facilitator of social change. Furthermore, sociologists, mass communication scholars, and working journalists have attempted to assess the role of the press in the societal changes that were brought about by the civil rights movement.

An examination of several perspectives suggests that the non-resolution of social ills--such as race-related repression--leads to conflict within a society--such as the fight for black civil rights in America. The perspectives also suggest that conflict within a society, and exposure--press coverage--of that conflict, is related to change within society. A discussion of these perspectives follows.

A Sociological Perspective

The social conflict model of social change indicates that differing interests with competing goals in a society lead to tensions, which in turn create pressure for change.¹ As described by Ralf Dahrendorf in 1958 and Melvin De Fleur and Sandra Ball-Rokeach in 1982, the four basic assumptions of the model are as follows: (a) society consists of categories and groups of people whose interests differ

sharply from one another, (b) components of society attempt to pursue their own interests in competition with others to preserve their interests by resisting the competitive efforts of others, (c) society constantly experiences conflict as its components try to attain new gains or to preserve their interests, and (d) out of competition and conflicting interests comes an ongoing process of change.²

The literature dealing with social conflict suggests that the press, by playing a part in social conflict, facilitates the proliferation of social moments and indeed social change.³ According to Phillip Tichenor, not only is social conflict a central component of social change, social conflict is a principal ingredient of news content.⁴

Likewise, Everette Dennis maintained that the standard criteria that make up the definition of news include conflict as a major criterion.⁵ In addition, Tichenor contended that the press contributes to the increasing intensity and widening scope of social conflict, thus facilitating change. However, he also noted that the press serves a supplementary rather than initiatory role in the development of conflict and change by drawing attention to activity that is already underway.⁶ Similarly, Goran Hedebro asserted that, while the press is not the prime mover in social change, it can exert influence over the

direction of social change and little change can take place without its participation.⁷

A Historical Perspective

Conflict and change are also central themes of the progressive interpretation of journalism history. This interpretation views journalism, or specific journalists and publications, as facilitators of social and political change that champion "good"--liberalism, freedom, democracy--in conflict with "evil"--repression, inequality, aristocracy.⁸

Many journalism historians who have utilized a progressive interpretation have likewise paid special attention to members of the press who fought for the underprivileged and others who needed help. Such historians have investigated the struggle between the "haves" and the "have nots," the "heroes" and the "villains" even when the villains came from within the press itself.⁹

The progressive interpretation of journalism history emerged in the early 1900s. During that time many journalism historians were educators from newly formed and developing departments of journalism at various universities.¹⁰ James Startt and David Sloan contended that the early progressive journalism historians believed that

the primary purpose of the press was to crusade for liberal social causes and help to assure a better future for the downtrodden.¹¹

George Henry Payne's History of Journalism in the United States was the first attempt to interpret journalism history using a progressive approach. Payne's 1926 work illustrated a struggle in which newspapers and journalists, the defenders of freedom and democracy, were pitted against forces that would abolish freedom and alter democracy. Payne traced the development of journalistic power through the 18th, 19th, and 20th centuries. He considered the history of American journalism as inseparable from the development of the democratic ideal. According to Payne, democracy owed its strength and victories to journalism, and no American political advance has been made without the aid of the press.¹²

Edwin Emery and Henry Smith's The Press in America stressed the influence of the press upon social, political, economic, and cultural trends in America. They described the press as reflective of society. They also described journalism history as the story of the human struggle to communicate despite barriers--"evils"--that have been erected to prevent the flow of information and ideas. Since

the first edition in 1954, numerous new editions of the book have been published to date.¹³

More recent literature on journalism history reveals that in the past most blacks and some white women were excluded from participation in the mainstream white press of the day. Blacks and some white women were rarely covered by the white press. In an attempt to right the wrong--this "evil"--the black press and various specialized women's papers were founded by blacks and women respectively. Henk La Brie's 1977 Journalism History article, "Black Newspaper: The Roots are 150 Years Deep," pointed out that since 1827, the black press chronicled the events and personalities of black America before it became fashionable for the white press to do so. La Brie contended that understaffing, a lack of advertising support, and reliance on second-hand equipment were characteristics of the early black press. He reported that 50 black newspapers, most of which were formed to support the abolitionist movement, began operating between 1827 and 1865. La Brie also noted that between 1866 and 1905 more than 1,200 black newspapers were started, of which 70% were formed in the South. He also contended that black publishers were publishers by avocation rather than vocation and needed earnings from a regular job in order to defray the costs of publishing a newspaper. In most cases,

black publishers had to rely on circulation revenue instead of advertising, the usual source of income, to help support their newspapers.¹⁴

Similarly, Lionel C. Barrow's 1977 Journalism History article, "Our Own Cause: Freedom's Journal and the Beginning of the Black Press," concentrated on the 1827 establishment of the first black newspaper, Freedom's Journal. Barrow examined the background, format, finance, content, and readership of the paper. He maintained that the publication gave blacks a voice of their own and an opportunity not only to answer the attacks printed in the white press, but the opportunity to read articles on black accomplishment that the white press of the day ignored.¹⁵

The 1965 Kansas History article, "Black Newspapers and the Exodusters of 1879," by Nudie Williams, asserted that when the South refused to fulfill its pledge to extend the full measure of protection to all of its citizens regardless of color, black newspapers across the country suggested that blacks leave the country or at least the South. According to Williams, in 1879, such a move did take place from the South to the Southwest and the West. The move was prompted by economics and violence.¹⁶

Sherilyn Cox Bennion's 1986 American Journalism article, "Woman Suffrage Papers of the West, 1869-1914,"

revealed that in the past, the press (in this case a specialized segment of the press, as with blacks) attempted to right the wrong of neglect within its own ranks. Bennion contended that suffragists were denied access to the conventional press, and therefore resorted to establishing their own. She also reported that the suffragists hoped to give their movement a voice, expand its influence, and win converts through the use of the press. In addition, Bennion noted that the editors of the Western suffrage newspapers came to journalism, not as a professional goal, but as a means to the end of winning the vote for women.¹⁷

A Journalistic Perspective

According to Carolyn Martindale, twentieth century American journalism has a tradition of responsibility to society. Such a tradition has been manifested by the press keeping watch on the "health" of American society and by informing the public about serious social ills.¹⁸ She suggested that when the press in a democratic society provides the public with information about serious ills, a "self-correcting capacity" may be stimulated.¹⁹ In essence, if the American public is fully informed about corruption,

injustice, or oppression, citizens may become aroused and therefore agitate for reform--social change.²⁰

The concept of press stimulation of a self-correcting capacity within the American public stems from an implied press duty of social change facilitation ascribed to the social responsibility theory of the press. Under this theory the press, which has constitutional freedom in America, assumes an obligation for social responsibility in exchange for press freedom. Thus, the press fulfills various socially responsible functions such as the safeguarding of civil liberties.²¹

The social responsibility of the press is an outgrowth of the work of the Commission on Freedom of the Press.²² In 1947, the commission, which consisted primarily of leading American scholars,²³ reported on the state and possible future of the American press. Through the publication of their findings in A Free and Responsible Press,²⁴ the Commission urged the press to provide a truthful, comprehensive, and intelligent account of the day's events in a context that gives them meaning. The commission also suggested that the press (a) serve as a forum for the exchange of comment and criticism, (b) provide a representative picture of the constituent groups of society,

- (c) present and clarify the goals and values of society, and
- (d) provide full access to the day's intelligence.²⁵

A Civil Rights Perspective

The scholarly literature pertaining to the press as a facilitator of the civil right movement is scarce. In addition, literature which does address the role of the press in the movement tends to dwell on the shortcomings of the press (excluding the black press--see Chapter 4). The press is admonished for taking too long to cover black-related stories and also for providing inappropriate reporting after coverage started. For example, commenting on the lack of timely press coverage of race relations, Martindale argued that the press was guilty of decades of inattention to the coverage of black-related topics.²⁶ Paul Fisher and Ralph Lowenstein contended that prior to 1954 and the Supreme Court's decision outlawing school segregation in Brown v. Board of Education, the press rarely treated racial issues as a distinct and urgent news topic.²⁷ Paul Good asserted that the press began paying belated attention to blacks only after the civil rights movement created controversy that could not be ignored.²⁸ However, Martindale presented the opinion that the tendency of the

press to emphasize controversy and conflict helped to produce a picture of blacks as dangerous.²⁹

In terms of inadequate and inappropriate press coverage, Fisher and Lowenstein also reported that the press responded quickly to the violence and controversy surrounding the racial story, while for the most part ignoring the problems beneath the surface. They noted that the press spent too little time and space describing the problems of blacks, such as poverty, inadequate housing, and poor education and the aims and goals of the movement.³⁰ Similarly, Calder Pickett described the press as having failed to report adequately on the causes and consequences of civil disorder and the underlying problems of race relations.³¹

Despite such criticism, a close examination of the writing of scholars and journalists who covered the movement suggests several ways in which the press facilitated the civil rights movement. These typologies of press facilitation include exposure, amplification, protection, and advocacy.

Exposure. This typology of press facilitation of the civil rights movement can be described as the public disclosure of the plight of black Americas resulting from racism repression and oppression as well as the violent,

brutal, and legal means used to subjugate blacks. According to Lauren Kessler, groups seeking to affect social change can reach the widest, most diverse audience through the press.³² Martindale contended that the press can expose racial injustices and other problems. These contentions were supported by Malcolm McCombs and Donald Shaw, who suggested that through a process of agenda-setting, political or other interest groups--civil rights organizations--can influence media news priorities, thus news coverage. Through agenda-setting, heightened news coverage--exposure--of an issue or topic increased public awareness of that topic or issue. In essence, people think about what they are exposed to, even though they might not adopt the ideas to which they are exposed.³³

Taking a stronger stance, William Monroe, Jr. argued that the exposure provided by day-to-day coverage of the movement was indeed a factor in the process of blacks and whites changing ideas about themselves and each other.³⁴ In addition, Martindale maintained that press coverage that informed white Americans about the lives and concerns of blacks might also have improved communications between the races, thereby reducing racial tensions and potentially arousing citizens to seek reform that alleviated injustices.³⁵ Similarly, Woody Klein contended that the

civil rights movement made more white Americans conscious of their black neighbors.³⁶ Martindale also noted that during the civil rights movement the extensive coverage and graphic portrayals of racial violence provided by the press shocked the nation into a realization of the oppression and hostility endured by blacks in the South.³⁷

According to Monroe, press coverage was an essential part of the civil rights movement. In his opinion, the exposure provided by the press was a central means of impelling people to see and confront ideas concerning morality from which they may have otherwise turned away.³⁸

Likewise, Martindale asserted that press exposure of social ills facilitated the civil rights movement by playing a significant part in the shaping of public consciousness in matters of race.³⁹ In addition, Samuel Dalsimer contended that the intense press coverage of the civil rights movement "stirred" the consciousness of America. He argued that the civil rights movement could not have taken place without the coverage and exposure provided by the press.⁴⁰

Amplification. This typology of press facilitation of the civil rights movement can be described as the heightening of the importance and impact of the civil rights movement, its purpose, objectives, and activities. Hedebro maintained that the press can act as a multiplier of

knowledge.⁴¹ Likewise, Tichenor revealed that the press plays a major role in accelerating a news topic to a higher and wider level of public awareness, interest, and intensity than it would have reached otherwise.⁴² Similarly, Monroe contended that during the civil rights movement the press forced a much speedier confrontation of emotion and ideas that otherwise would have been the case.⁴³

In addition, Tichenor also asserted that press coverage of social conflict contributes to the "legitimation" of the conflict. In essence, the recognition of a particular social conflict--as during the civil rights movement--confers status to the issues of the conflict such as racism, segregation, violence, and other forms of repression and oppression--thus amplification.⁴⁴ Along these lines, NBC television news correspondent John Chancellor, who covered the social conflict of the civil rights movement, expressed the opinion that, "Journalism does not initiate social change, but can amplify it." He further contended, "During the civil rights movement, the press worked as an amplifier."⁴⁵

Protection. This typology of press facilitation of the civil rights movement can be described as the prevention of harm to civil rights movement workers through the regular observation and coverage of movement activities and

opponents, thus providing the potential of exposure and identification of possible assailants. According to Monroe, during the civil rights movement the press was a powerful deterrent to racial violence in the South. He maintained that journalists symbolized the national focus on southern violence and, therefore, many potentially violent incidents were defused by their presence.⁴⁶ Despite the deaths of many civil rights workers,⁴⁷ Lawrence Fanning also contended that the presence of newsmen served as a protective shield for civil rights workers. He revealed that in some instances the United States Justice Department informally urged the press to cover stories in order to protect the workers while in other cases movement participants requested coverage for the same reasons.⁴⁸

Advocacy. This typology of press facilitation of the civil rights movement can be described as the agreement with, supporting of, and recommendation of, the ideals of racial harmony--such as understanding and acceptance--and attainment of civil rights for black Americans. Samuel Dalsimer argued that support by the press is the most efficient and sometimes only way in which a "cause" can be advanced.⁴⁹ Martindale suggested that when the press provides a voice to the victimized, such as oppressed blacks, a social climate that is conducive to reform may be

created. She also contended that during the civil rights movement articles and editorials in the press reminded the public of the American societal ideals of equality and justice while pointing out the gap between those ideals and the reality of the harsh life endured by many black Americans. In terms of press advocacy pertaining to race relations, she indicated that the press can promote attitudes of acceptance, increase understanding, and suggest solutions.⁵⁰

As indicated, the commonality of social conflict--as a factor in social change--runs through various perspectives. In addition, the literature suggests that press interest in social ills and conflicts stems from the social responsibility of the American press as well as press attraction to conflict--as a major component of news. The literature also suggests that press interest in and coverage of social conflict--as during the civil rights movement--facilitates conflict resolution and social change.

The journalistic civil rights advocacy of Harry Golden is one example of press facilitation of social change. However, Golden, unlike most journalists, utilized personal journalism as a means of social change--civil rights--facilitation. The concept of personal journalism is discussed in the following section.

Personal Journalism

Personal journalists are self-employed members of the press who practice personal journalism--social commentary, advocacy of causes--instead of reporting news events. They usually operate small publications where they perform a variety of duties like writing and editing. Golden once described personal journalists as "journalistic jack-of-all-trades."⁵¹

By his own admission, Golden was a personal journalist.⁵² In addition, his writing and operation of the Israelite revealed that he attributed and demonstrated four characteristics which collectively defined his concept of personal journalism. They included (a) newspaper--personal journal--ownership by the personal journalist; (b) complete editorial control of the personal journal; (c) advocacy of a cause(s) by the personal journalist through the personal journal; and (d) limited staffing with the personal journalist serving in multiple capacities such as publisher, editor, and reporter. A secretary or other assistant may have provided clerical support.⁵³

In contrast to Golden's concept, others have viewed personal journalism differently. For example, Jay Black and Frederick Whitney in categorizing different phases in the

development of American Journalism described an era of the personal journalist. They indicated that during the mid-1800s, powerful and influential newspaper editors of large papers, such as James Gordon Bennett of the New York Herald, Horace Greeley of the New York Tribune, and Henry J. Raymond of the New York Times established the basic tenets of journalism as a discipline. Such editors are now credited with providing the first evidence of social concern through the press. They are also credited with creating new techniques for improving circulation and for beginning specialized coverage.

Newspaper sections such as finance, religion, society, and the arts resulted from their departmentalization ideas.⁵⁴ In addition, Harvey Saalberg also stressed the personal journalism and innovative journalistic practices of Bennett and Greeley. Saalberg ascribed the development of the editorial page to Greeley and the refinement of advertising fee collection techniques to Bennett.⁵⁵ Similarly, Black and Whitney credited Raymond with the development of the idea for international, foreign, and political news correspondents.⁵⁶

The elements of Golden's concept of personal journalism are related to various classifications of journalistic style and approaches to news coverage and reportage. One such

broad category is the new journalism. The new journalism emerged and developed during the 1960s and 1970s as various social movements such as civil rights, anti-war, and women's rights attempted to break down old values and traditions.⁵⁷

Joseph Webb described the new journalism as a "reflection of social realism."⁵⁸ According to Charles Flippen, new

journalism is an umbrella term that incorporates various and sometimes dissimilar styles of new and unusual reporting.

Flippen also considered the new journalism as a creative endeavor of journalists of the 1960s and 1970s who sought alternatives to the tedium of conventional media.⁵⁹ Jay

Jensen contended that the new journalism differs from usual or ordinary news coverage that consists of objective,

unbiased, factual reporting that is primarily based more on information gathering and exploiting of sources than on

writing.⁶⁰ Everette Dennis described the various forms of

the new journalism as sophisticated writing that is aimed at highly educated people.⁶¹

The various styles of the new journalism include literary, alternative, advocacy, underground, and precision journalism.⁶² Of these five styles, three--alternative,

advocacy, and underground--share similarities with Golden's concept of personal journalism.⁶³ Advocacy journalism is

similar to Golden's personal journalism in that, according

to Dennis, most alternative publications are run by an editor alone or with a small staff. Dennis maintained that alternative publications serve as watchdogs over the conventional media, keeping them honest by covering stories they usually do not cover. He also contended that most alternative journalists began their careers with large conventional newspapers or magazines but became disillusioned as the large publications grew even larger and less responsive to the individual. Unlike Golden's concept of personal journalism, in alternative journalism the journalist does not openly profess a particular point of view; instead the journalist relies on in-depth investigative reporting as a basis for writing about social reality.⁶⁴

Advocacy in journalism refers to the process by which journalists express their opinions or inject their personal viewpoint in news reporting thereby serving to support or promote a cause or causes.⁶⁵ Advocacy journalism directly corresponds with the element of advocacy suggested in Golden's concept of personal journalism. According to Dennis, the advocacy journalist not only writes with commitment to a particular viewpoint, but attempts to expose and suggest remedies for social ills.⁶⁶ In addition, Flippen pointed out that advocacy journalists support

various causes, in part, due to a belief that traditional journalism has overlooked certain social ills and injustices. He also argued that advocacy in journalism is in direct opposition to the tradition and generally accepted role of the journalist as an objective observer and conveyor of information. However, he noted that most proponents of traditional journalism recognize a need and a place for advocacy journalism as a supplement to traditional coverage. He further contended that many advocacy journalists consider the traditional journalistic ideal of objectivity to be unattainable. Therefore, such advocacy journalists dismiss objectivity and acknowledge their own biases and prejudices which they, in turn, incorporate in their writing.⁶⁷

According to Glessing, underground journalism is the journalism of dissent. He also maintained that the underground press in America is primarily a subjective chronicle of youthful reaction to the technical, political, and cultural conditions in American society. He reported that underground journalism emerged in the 1960s from youthful involvement in causes such as the civil rights movement, social welfare concerns, Vietnam war protests, and the drug culture.⁶⁸ Similarly, Dennis suggested that the underground press is a medium for young people who seek alternative life styles and who feel alienated from the

conventional press.⁶⁹ Glessing also viewed the underground press as having been created to reflect and shape all those alienated from the mainstream of the American experience. He described underground papers as being written "by the alienated for the alienated,"⁷⁰ noting that such papers were aimed at people such as hippies, radicals, college students, black militants, poets, and intellectuals.⁷¹ Many scholars recognize political and cultural papers as the two major types of underground publications. Political papers emphasize radical politics, left or right, and are based on the belief that the underground press should be used as a tool for political revolution. Cultural papers emphasize an awareness of relations between all people in American society. Although cultural papers may be opposed to the political system, they include news and coverage of matters other than politics--music, sex, and drugs.⁷²

With the exception of subject matter such as drugs, Golden's concept of personal journalism is present in that of underground journalism. According to Glessing, the characteristics of the underground press provide for an exciting brand of personal journalism. He argued that the underground press, through allowing individual personal involvement in every step of the journalistic process--reportage through ownership--provides the opportunity for

individual expression, editorial control, and advocacy. In essence, the underground press offers aspiring writers the opportunity to practice personal journalism.⁷³ As presented, many of the elements in Golden's concept of personal journalism--which he practiced from the 1940s through the 1960s--can be seen in the alternative, advocacy, and underground news journalism styles of the 1960s and 1970s. The utilization of some of the elements of new journalism, prior to the advent of new journalism, has prompted some scholars to question the newness of the new journalism and its various forms. Theodore Koop argued that the new journalism is really the old journalism and contains a mix of features from previous era of the press.⁷⁴ Jay Jensen maintained that the new journalism is not new, but only borrows and revives old techniques.⁷⁵ According to Dennis, there is nothing very new about the new journalism because every form and application can be traced to an antecedent somewhere, sometime.⁷⁶

For example, Flippen and Koop both contended that even though advocacy journalism is considered a form of the new journalism, advocacy in American journalism is not new, but stems from the highly opinionated press of the 18th and 19th centuries.⁷⁷ Similarly, Black and Whitney asserted that the roots of advocacy in the American press can be traced back

to the revolutionary press of the 18th century. They indicated that advocacy through the press of that time "fanned the fires of revolution" and helped to "stiffen the resolve of rebellious colonists."⁷⁸

Underground journalism, as a form of new journalism, also lacks newness. Flippen suggested that the underground press is related to various forms of counter or dissent press from other times.⁷⁹ Glessing's description of the underground press as a radical or dissent press⁸⁰ gives support to a contention by Robert Cottrell and Edwin and Michael Emery that the underground press of the 1960s and 1970s grew out of the work of the radical journalism of the early to mid-twentieth century.⁸¹ As was the case of the underground journalism of the 1960s, the earlier radical press was a dissent press that concentrated on and advocated political and social views, conditions, and institutions that were different from the usual or traditional. In addition, as with the underground press, scholars have noted that some radical journalists were also personal journalists who produced and published their own papers by themselves or with a small staff.⁸² One such personal journalist who has been described by various scholars as an alternative, underground, and radical journalist--thus illustrating a fine line between various categories of the new journalism

and a similarity between old and new forms of journalism-- was I.F. Stone.⁸³ Stone owned and had editorial control over his own personal journal through which he investigated many unpopular topics and advocated various causes.

Stone began his journalism career in the early 1920s. During that time, he published his first personal journal, the Progress, while a sophomore in high school. He used the Progress to present his views on news topics. Stone considered the Progress an alternative to the sensational news coverage--yellow journalism--of the traditional press of the time.⁸⁴

Many years later, after working for a variety of other small and large newspapers, Stone started his second and most famous personal journal, I.F. Stone's Weekly, later changed to I.F. Stone's Bi-Weekly. He operated the paper from 1953 to 1971, during which time he sought to isolate and report relevant news that was ignored or downplayed by the traditional press.⁸⁵ Stone thrived on exposing corruption and conspiracies, documenting abuses against civil liberties, and challenging the morals and abilities of journalists from the large traditional press.⁸⁶ Consequently, he covered and presented his opinion on topics such as McCarthyism,⁸⁷ federal arms spending,⁸⁸ racism,⁸⁹ and the war in Vietnam.⁹⁰

As presented in this section, the characteristics of Golden's concept of personal journalism can be seen in various other classifications of journalistic style and approaches to news coverage and reportage. In addition, much of the content of Golden's personal journalism--namely civil rights for black Americans--stems from his concern about the plight of black Americans and his interest in the civil rights movement. The following chapter examines the quest for black civil rights in America.

Notes

¹Phillip Tichenor, George Donohue, and Clarence Olien, Community Conflict and the Press (Beverly Hills: Sage, 1980) 17; Goran Hedebo, Communication and Social Change in Developing Nations (Ames: Iowa State U.P., 1982) 91.

²Ralf Dahrendorf, "Toward a Theory of Social Conflict," The Journal of Conflict Resolution 2.2 (1958): 178; Melvin De Fleur and Sandra Ball-Rokeach, Theories of Mass Communication 4th ed. (New York: Longman, 1982) 19.

³C. Wendell King, Social Movements in the United States (New York: Random House, 1956) 24.

⁴Tichenor et al., 17.

⁵According to Dennis, the other standard criteria of news are progress, disaster, timelessness, and proximity. See Everette Dennis and John Merrill, Basic Issues in Mass Communication (New York: Macmillan, 1984) 140.

⁶Tichenor et al., 19, 136-137.

⁷Hedebo 93-94.

⁸Joseph McKerns, "The Limits of Progressive Journalism History," Journalism History 4.3 (1977): 88; Michael Emery, "The Writing of American Journalism History," Journalism History 10. 3-4 (1983): 42; James Startt and David Sloan, Historical Methods in Mass Communication (Hillsdale: Erlbaum, 1989) 29.

⁹Emery Writing of 42.

¹⁰Startt and Sloan 29; Carolyn Marvin, "Space, Time, and Captive Communication History," Mass Communication Review Yearbook v. 5 (Beverly Hills: Sage, 1985) 111.

¹¹Startt and Sloan 29.

¹²George Henry Payne, History of Journalism in the United States (New York: Appleton, 1926) 16-26.

¹³Edward Emery and Henry Smith, The Press and America (New York: Prentice-Hall, 1954); Edwin Emery and Michael Emery, The Press and America: An Interpretive History of the Mass Media 5th ed (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1984) v.

¹⁴Henry La Brie, "Black Newspapers: The Roots are 150 Years Deep," Journalism History 4.4 (1978-79): 111-113.

¹⁵Lionel Barrow, Jr., "Our Own Cause: Freedom's Journal and the Beginnings of the Black Press," Journalism History 4.4 (1977-78): 118-122.

¹⁶Nudie Williams, "Black Newspapers and the Exodusters of 1879," Kansas History 8 (1985-86): 217-225.

¹⁷Sherilyn Cox Bennion, "Woman Suffrage Papers of the West, 1869-1914," American Journalism 3 (1986): 125-141.

¹⁸Carolyn Martindale, The White Press and Black America (New York: Greenwood, 1986) 15-16.

¹⁹Martindale 15.

²⁰Martindale 15.

²¹William Rivers, Theodore Peterson, and Jay Jensen, The Mass Media and Modern Society 2nd ed. (New York: Holt,

Rinehart, and Winston, 1971) 88; Fred Siebert, Theodore Peterson, and Wilbur Schramm, Four Theories of the Press (Urbana: U of Illinois P, 1972) 74; In addition, according to Siebert et al., the other functions of the press under social responsibility are: 1) servicing the political system by providing information, discussion, and debate on political affairs, 2) enlightening the public so as to make it capable of self-government, 3) servicing the economic system, primarily by bringing together the buyers and sellers of goods and services through the medium of advertising, 4) providing entertainment, and 5) maintaining its own financial self-sufficiency so as to be free from the pressures of special interests; see Siebert et al. 74.

²²Siebert et al. 73.

²³Robert M. Hutchins, Chancellor of the University of Chicago, served as Chairman of the Commission and Zechariah Chafee, Jr., a Professor of Law at Harvard University, served as Vice Chairman of the Commission. The other commission members were: John M. Clark, a Professor of Economics at Columbia University; John Dickinson, a Professor of Law at the University of Pennsylvania; William E. Hocking, a Professor of Philosophy at Harvard University; Harold D. Lasswell, a Professor of Law at Yale University; Archibald MacLeish, a former U.S. Assistant Secretary of State; Charles E. Merriam, a Professor of Political Science at the University of Chicago; Reinhold Niebuhr, a Professor of Ethics and Philosophy of Religion at Union Theological Seminary; Robert Redfield, a Professor of Anthropology at the University of Chicago; Beardsley Ruml, Chairman of the Federal Reserve Bank of New York; Arthur M. Schlesinger, a Professor of History at Harvard University; and George N. Schuster, the President of Hunter College. See Commission on Freedom of the Press, A Free and Responsible Press (Chicago: U of Chicago P, 1947) ii.

²⁴The Commission also published Freedom of the Press: A Framework of Principle, Government and Mass Communications, Freedom of the Movies, People Speaking to People, The American Radio, and The American Press and the San Francisco Conference; See Commission on Freedom of the Press ix.

²⁵Commission on Freedom of the Press 20-28.

²⁶Martindale 1-2.

²⁷Paul Fisher and Ralph Lowenstein, eds. Race and the News Media (New York: Praeger, 1967) 4; See Chapter 3 of this study and Oliver Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas, 74 S.Ct. 686 and 347 U.S. 483, 1954.

²⁸Paul Good, The Trouble I've Seen (Washington, D.C.: Howard U P, 1975) 253.

²⁹Martindale 56.

³⁰Fisher and Lowenstein 5.

³¹Calder M. Pickett, Voices of the Past: Key Documents in the History of American Journalism (Columbus: Grid, 1977) 422.

³²Lauren Kessler, The Dissident Press: An Alternative Journalism in American History (Beverly Hills: Sage, 1984) 21-22.

³³Malcolm McCombs and Donald Shaw, "The Agenda-Setting Function of the Press," Public Opinion Quarterly 36 (1972) 176-187.

³⁴William Monroe, Jr., "Television: The Chosen Instrument of the Revolution," Race and the News Media Paul Fisher and Ralph Lowenstein eds (New York: Praeger, 1967) 97.

³⁵Martindale 10-11.

³⁶Woody Klein, "The New Revolution: A Postscript," Race and News Media Paul Fisher and Ralph Lowenstein eds. (New York: Praeger, 1967) 144.

³⁷Martindale 10-11.

³⁸Monroe 88.

³⁹Martindale 26, 28.

⁴⁰Samuel Dalsimer, "The Justice of Persuasion," Race and the News Media Paul Fisher and Ralph Lowenstein eds. (New York: Praeger, 1967) 120.

⁴¹Hedebro 18.

⁴²Tichenor, et al. 119.

⁴³Monroe 89.

⁴⁴Tichenor et al. 114.

⁴⁵John Chancellor, interview, Dateline: The Press and Civil Rights PBS, WUFT TV, Gainesville, FL 3 May 1989.

⁴⁶Monroe 88.

⁴⁷See "Martyrs" in Chapter 3, section 3, of this study for a discussion of the deaths of civil rights workers.

⁴⁸Lawrence Fanning, "The Media: Observer or Participant?" Race and the News Media Paul Fisher and Ralph Lowenstein eds. (New York: Praeger, 1967) 110.

⁴⁹Dalsimer 113.

⁵⁰Martindale 7, 11.

⁵¹Harry Golden, "The Topic of the Times," Carolina Israelite Dec. 1957: 11.

⁵²Harry Golden, The Right Time: An Autobiography, by Harry Golden (New York: Putnam, 1969) 364.

⁵³Golden, The Right Time, 252-255; Harry Golden, "Goodbye," Carolina Israelite Jan./Feb. 1968: 1.

⁵⁴Jay Black and Frederick Whitney, Mass Communication (Dubuque: Brown, 1983) 46.

⁵⁵Harvey Saalberg, "Bennett and Greeley, Professional Rivals, Had Much in Common," Journalism Quarterly 49.3 (1972) 538-540.

⁵⁶Black and Whitney 46.

⁵⁷Jay Jensen, "Excerpt from the New Journalism in Historical Perspective," Journalism History 1.2 (1974) 37;

Everette Dennis, The Magic Writing Machine (Eugene: U of Oregon, 1971) 1.

⁵⁸Joseph Webb, "Historical Perspectives on the New Journalism," Journalism History 1.2 (1974) 38.

⁵⁹Charles Flippen, Liberating the Media: The New Journalism (Washington, D.C.: Acropolis, 1974) 10; Dennis 2.

⁶⁰Jensen, Excerpt 37.

⁶¹Dennis 10.

⁶²Flippen 10-11; Dennis 4.

⁶³Literary journalism, which utilizes fiction literary techniques in non-fiction journalistic writing, and Precision Journalism, which utilizes social science research techniques in the precise reporting of trends and conditions, are not related to personal journalism; For a discussion of each see Flippen 1, and Dennis 8.

⁶⁴Dennis 5-6.

⁶⁵Flippen 12; Dennis 7.

⁶⁶Dennis 6.

⁶⁷Flippen 12-13.

⁶⁸Robert Glessing, The Underground Press in America (Bloomington: Indiana U P, 1970) xiii, xiv, 6, 11.

⁶⁹Dennis 7.

⁷⁰Glessing 3.

⁷¹Glessing 12.

⁷²Glessing 98; Dennis 7; Flippen 14.

⁷³Glessing xiii, xiv, 99.

⁷⁴Theodore Koop, "Personal Journalism in Television," Liberating the Media: The New Journalism Charles Flippen (Washington, D.C.: Acropolis, 1974) 145.

⁷⁵Jay Jensen, "The New Journalism in Historical Perspective," Liberating the Media: The New Journalism Charles Flippen (Washington, D.C., Acropolis, 1974) 19.

⁷⁶Dennis 1.

⁷⁷Flippen 12; Koop 145.

⁷⁸Black and Whitney 42-43.

⁷⁹Flippen 14.

⁸⁰Glessing xiii, 98.

⁸¹Robert Cottrell, "I.F. Stone: A Maverick Journalist's Battle with the Superpowers," Journalism History 12.2 (1985) 62; Emery and Emery 571.

⁸²Joseph Conlin, ed. The American Radical Press: 1880-1960 Vol. 1 and 2 (Westport: Greenwood, 1974) 3, 563.

⁸³I.F. Stone has been described as an alternative journalist by Dennis, and by Emery and Emery; See Dennis 6 and Emery 573; He has also been described as the progenitor of underground journalism by Cottrell and as a radical journalist by Conlin; See Cottrell 62 and Conlin 622.

⁸⁴I.F. Stone, "Notes on Closing, But not in Farewell," I.F. Stone's Bi-Weekly Dec. 1971: 1.

⁸⁵Conlin vii 622-624; Cottrell 62.

⁸⁶Cottrell 63; Conlin vii 618.

⁸⁷For example, see I.F. Stone, "Time for a Deportation to Wisconsin," I.F. Stone's Weekly April 1953: 2; I.F. Stone, "McCarthy Falls Back on the Lunatic Fringe," I.F. Stone's Weekly Nov. 1954: 1.

⁸⁸For example, see I.F. Stone, "The Fear that Fuels the Arms Race," I.F. Stone's Bi-Weekly Oct. 1971: 1.

⁸⁹For example, see I.F. Stone, "The Right to Keep Other Human Beings 'Niggers'," I.F. Stone's Weekly Sept. 1956: 4; I.F. Stone, "The South Begins a Strategic Retreat," I.F. Stone's Weekly Feb. 1959: 1; I.F. Stone, "The Senate Debate Through Negro Eyes," I.F. Stone's Weekly July 1957: 1; I.F. Stone, "The FBI's Indifference to Civil Rights," I.F. Stone's Bi-Weekly Oct. 1963: 1.

⁹⁰For example, see I.F. Stone, "The Best Kept Secret of the Vietnam War," I.F. Stone's Weekly April 1969: 1; I.F. Stone, Polemics and Prophecies: 1967-1970 (New York: Random House, 1970) 360.

CHAPTER 3
THE QUEST FOR BLACK CIVIL RIGHTS IN AMERICA:
HISTORICAL BACKGROUND AND SETTING OF THE STUDY

The civil rights advocacy of Harry Golden was indicative of his concern about the plight of black Americans. He was outraged by racism, segregation, and the resulting cruelty inflicted by whites and endured by blacks.¹ The arena of civil rights was Golden's battlefield. The press--personal journalism--was his weapon. His humor, outspokenness, and dedication were his ammunition. In essence, the people and events of the civil rights movement, as well as Golden's concern for blacks as fellow human beings, served to influence and mold his writing.

Based on the relevant historical literature, this chapter examines the arena of civil rights. First, the chapter concentrates on the rights, freedoms, disenfranchisement, and subjugation of blacks prior to the modern civil rights movement. Next, the factors which collectively led to the movement and its implementation are explored. Finally, an overview of the major events,

leaders, organizations, and accomplishments of the movement is presented.

Prelude to a Modern Movement

After gaining freedom from slavery through Presidential proclamation and national civil war,² blacks attempted to participate in American society as free individuals. Blacks served on juries, participated in state militias, voted,³ and served in the federal and state governments.⁴ However, as the former Confederate states and citizens of the South rejoined the Union and sought the political and economic power lost through the war, blacks were systematically denied democratic and civil rights as well as equality with whites. Instead of being assimilated into American society, blacks, as during slavery, were once again subjugated by whites.⁵

During Reconstruction, blacks had begun to achieve political strength. Between 1867 and 1868, qualified black voters outnumbered qualified white voters 703,400 to 660,000 in the former Confederate states.⁶ Although blacks only constituted a minority in state and federal governmental offices,⁷ between 1869 and 1876 sixteen blacks served in the United States Congress,⁸ On the state level, blacks served

in the legislatures of Alabama, Florida, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina and South Carolina.⁹ In addition, blacks held a variety of other state offices including Lieutenant Governor, Secretary of State, State Treasurer, Supreme Court Justice, and Superintendent of Education.¹⁰

Between the late 1860s and mid-1870s, southerners--former Confederates--attempted to regain their United States citizenship and property,¹¹ and southern states rejoined the union.¹² The former Confederate states held conventions, wrote new constitutions, and established new--reconstructionist--governments.¹³ However, usually upon the readmission of a state, conservatives like the southern Democratic Party and the Conservative Union Party began opposing the new state's administration as well as black involvement in government.¹⁴ As new state governments were established, the conservatives routinely predicted the governments' failure.¹⁵

Using the presumed inferiority and ineptness of blacks for participation in government as a smoke screen for their attempt to regain pre-Civil War political and economic power over blacks, white racist forces, such as the Conservative Democrats and the Ku Klux Klan, pursued the systematic disenfranchisement of blacks. The denial of black suffrage

was implemented through manipulation of the voting process and enforced through economic intimidation and violence. In addition, the tenets of race separation and racial inequality flourished.¹⁶

In order to regain political power over blacks, southern whites manipulated the voting process in various ways. For example, white-only primaries, through which the Democratic party confined voting to white voters, were utilized.¹⁷ Gerrymandering, through which voting districts were drawn or re-drawn, was also implemented in order to minimize the potential of black voting strength.¹⁸ In addition, an eight-ballot-box system was developed through which eight instead of one ballot boxes were used in an attempt to confuse illiterate black voters. Through this system, states such as Florida used different boxes for the various posts being contested and ballots put in the wrong boxes were not counted.¹⁹

Potential black voters also faced other obstacles. For example, polling places were moved at the last minute without the notification of blacks.²⁰ Through literacy testing, the prospective black voters had to demonstrate familiarity with their state constitution to white registration officials who were empowered to pass or fail applicants--blacks usually failed.²¹ In addition, a

grandfather clause was utilized through which the right to vote was only extended to individuals whose grandfathers possessed the right to vote on January 1, 1867--predominantly whites.²²

In an attempt to regain economic power over blacks, some southern states enacted Black Codes in an attempt to restore control and regulation of the black labor force.²³ Historian Peter Camejo contended that such codes forced blacks into "a labor caste, somewhere between chattel slaves and free but propertyless laborers."²⁴ In essence, blacks were placed in a legal form of second-class citizenship.²⁵ The black codes gave white landowners many of the benefits of slavery. For example, under the Mississippi code, which was considered severe,²⁶ blacks who were younger than eighteen years of age and who were orphans or whose parents could not support them were placed in the service of and under control of whites--usually their former owner. The former owner, who could administer corporal punishment, was allowed to hold females until they reached the age of eighteen and hold males until they reached the age of twenty-one.²⁷ In addition, all blacks who were unemployed, homeless, or found guilty of adultery, drunkenness, or theft could be placed in the charge of their former master.²⁸

White southerners used various forms of intimidation to strengthen their post-Reconstruction political and economic power over blacks. Intimidation ranged from threats of being fired by white employers to threats of denial of medical care by white doctors, and included threats of violence against black voters.²⁹ By far the most severe form of intimidation was the actual use of violence against blacks and whites who were sympathetic to blacks. Whippings, mutilations, burning alive, lynching, drowning, and what historian John Hope Franklin contended was "any effective means of violence conceivable"³⁰ awaited blacks who were insolent or who dared to vote. A similar fate awaited white supporters.³¹ Camejo reported that, between 1867 and 1871 approximately 20,000 blacks and white supporters were murdered in the southern United States.³² As black disenfranchisement--enforced by violence--flourished, blacks stopped voting in large numbers. Blacks were also ousted from state and federal governmental offices.³³ Camejo also contended that by the early twentieth century, "only two percent of the potential black electorate voted in twelve southern states."³⁴

Rationale for a Modern Movement

For generations, black Americans experienced frustration and discontent over racial inequality stemming from slavery, and black disenfranchisement stemming from counter-Reconstruction. Opposition to such inequality and disenfranchisement has been present throughout the history of the United States. It has taken forms such as slave revolts, the abolitionist movement, the Underground Railroad, and the return to Africa movement.³⁵ Despite early opposition, black Americans of the mid-twentieth century inherited a legacy of life at the bottom of the socioeconomic ladder.³⁶ In 1963, this legacy prompted the United States Commission on Civil Rights³⁷ to conclude after a six-year investigation that "the civil rights of Negro citizens continue to be widely discarded,"³⁸ and also that "the descendants of freed slaves still suffer from customs, traditions, and prejudices that should have died with the institution in which they flourished."³⁹

Economically, during the 1950s and 1960s many more black than white Americans lived in poverty.⁴⁰ In addition, between 1950 and 1963 the average annual income of blacks ranged from 52% to 54% of the average annual income of whites.⁴¹ Similarly, between 1964 and 1968 the average

annual income of blacks was only 55.4% of that for whites.⁴² Also, during the 1950s and 1960s black unemployment ranged from 7% to 11% compared to 3% to 5% for whites.⁴³ Those blacks who were employed tended to be concentrated in the lower-paying menial jobs. For example, 75% of the black men in the American labor force during this time worked in unskilled jobs, such as janitors and porters. In addition, 50% of black women in the labor force worked as domestics, such as maids and cooks.⁴⁴ According to the Civil Rights Commission, "the economic plight of the Negro has its roots in segregation and discrimination,"⁴⁵ which resulted in inadequate education, inferior job training, and discrimination by private employers in the training and hiring of blacks.⁴⁶

Politically, the early and mid-twentieth century saw the continuation of the exclusion of blacks from the political process through the use of poll taxes, voter registration testing, violence, and other forms of intimidation.⁴⁷ In 1963, the Civil Rights Commission concluded that the right to vote was not only denied to blacks for "almost 100 years," but "the right to vote is still denied" to blacks.⁴⁸ The Commission also added that in some areas of the South "virtually all the voting-age whites

have been registered regardless of qualifications, while Negroes have been systematically rejected."⁴⁹

The economic and political plight of black Americans in the early to mid-twentieth century along with the social oppression of blacks--primarily through segregation--also added to mounting black frustrations. Social oppression as a key factor in the education, housing, health care and military service of blacks enhanced the need and desire for some sort of relief--namely, a modern movement.⁵⁰ In terms of education, blacks of this period had to endure poorly equipped, segregated schools which were usually housed in sub-standard buildings. Journalist Harry Ashmore argued that the general discrimination against blacks in education stemmed from the inattentiveness of southern school officials, who were usually white.⁵¹ He asserted that such southern school officials reflected the attitude of the majority of southern whites who believed that blacks needed no more than a basic grade school education in order to assume their proper place in society as laborers and domestics.⁵² Consequently, black students were provided with inferior equipment and facilities and less funding for education than white students. For example, in the South between 1940 and 1952 less money was spent per student and on facilities for black students than for whites. In

addition, black teachers were paid lower salaries than white teachers, and black schools were provided with smaller libraries, in terms of space and holdings, than white schools.⁵³ On the matter of segregated schools, the Civil Rights Commission found that despite the unconstitutionality of segregated schools, as determined by the 1954 Supreme Court ruling in Brown v. Board of Education,⁵⁴ most southern school boards during the mid-1950s through the early 1960s were determined to "evade or avoid desegregation."⁵⁵ The Commission considered segregated schools a hindrance to the preparation of "youth to function in a multiracial society as participating citizens."⁵⁶

In the matters of housing and health care, the Commission reported that during the 1950s and early 1960s the national welfare and security required the realization of a "decent home or suitable living environment" for all Americans.⁵⁷ However, the Commission concluded that blacks were not able to purchase decent shelter freely because of high prices and the hesitancy of whites to sell to blacks.⁵⁸ In addition, the Commission pointed out that black patients and medical professionals were denied access to or were segregated in many medical care facilities. They concluded that such practices adversely affected national health

standards as well as the training of black medical professionals.⁵⁹

On the topic of military service, there were relatively few blacks in the armed forces, especially as officers and supervisory personnel, during the early to mid-twentieth century.⁶⁰ In addition, blacks were excluded from service in the Marine Corps and the Air Force and were usually relegated to domestic, unskilled and menial duties in the Army and Navy.⁶¹ After World War I and World War II, discontent among black military personnel, concerning their lack of opportunity in the armed forces, grew as they also pondered the irony of their participation in wars abroad while they faced racism and segregation at home. Blacks returning home from the World Wars became determined to work for equality and opportunity at home and in the military.⁶² In general, blacks sought desegregation and the same military training, opportunity, and advancement as whites.⁶³ Likewise, many southern whites were equally determined to keep blacks in their place as second-class citizens. Consequently, many blacks who returned home from military service after the wars came home to race riots and intense discrimination.⁶⁴ Historian Thomas Brooks revealed that some southern cities invested in "anti-riot weaponry in fear

of armed insurrection by organized returning Negro veterans."⁶⁵

The combination of economic and political repression and domination of blacks--enforced by violence and other forms of intimidation--along with social oppression--through discrimination and segregation as a factor in the education, housing, health care, and military service of blacks--served as a constant and mounting source of frustration and discontent for blacks. That frustration was eventually refocused into resistance to repression and oppression. Likewise, the resistance served as the foundation upon which the motivation and sacrifice of many people, black and white, would lead to a mass movement as black Americans sought a better life and the true enfranchisement which was alluded to during Reconstruction and then taken away. The modern civil rights movement would successfully evolve during the early 1950s and 1960s.

Overview of the Modern Movement

During the 1950s and 1960s, blacks and sympathetic whites worked to secure the long-denied liberty and full rights of American citizenship for blacks--civil rights. starting with the courts, in order to gain legal support and

set precedent, the modern civil rights movement quickly branched out to include mass nonviolent civil disobedience through boycotts, marches, sit-ins, and other forms of demonstration. Such tactics were used in order to illustrate to the country and the world the lack of and need for civil rights. They were also used to disrupt the normal functioning of segregated institutions.⁶⁶

Organizations

The black church served as the initial institutional center of the modern movement, according to civil rights researcher Aldon Morris. He contended that the black church provided the movement with "the leadership of clergymen skilled in the art of managing people and resources, a financial base, and meeting places."⁶⁷ This is exemplified by the fact that both Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., the acknowledged leader of the movement,⁶⁸ and Dr. Ralph David Abernathy, King's second in command and successor,⁶⁹ were both ministers and indeed used their churches as bases of operations during the initial stages of the movement.⁷⁰ Black churches also provided blacks with an escape from the harsh reality associated with oppression by whites. Morris maintained that black churches were institutions free from

the control of whites, and inside their walls blacks were "temporarily free to forget oppression."⁷¹

In addition to the black church, numerous other organizations, primarily civil rights organizations, influenced the momentum, direction, and impact of the modern civil rights movement. Several civil rights organizations were highly influential.

NAACP. The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People was founded in 1909 by a group of blacks and whites who were opposed to racism. The principal tactics of the organization were educational persuasion, based on the idea that whites would treat blacks as equals once whites overcame their ignorance of blacks; and legal action, designed to attack segregation and racial inequality via the court system.⁷² Brown v. Board of Education and other early legal victories of the civil rights movement were planned and fought by NAACP attorneys.⁷³

CORE. The Congress of Racial Equality was founded in 1942 by a group of blacks and whites in order to address civil rights problems. The organization initially used and proposed the use of tactics such as sit-ins, hunger strikes, freedom rides, and mass marches as a means of civil rights demonstration.⁷⁴

SCLC. The Southern Christian Leadership Conference was founded in 1957 by a group of black southern ministers as a formal organization of religious leaders to fight for civil rights. Under the leadership of King, the group's first President, and Abernathy, King's Vice President, the SCLC coordinated some of the earliest and most successful campaigns of the movement, such as Montgomery and Birmingham.⁷⁵ Morris asserted that the SCLC developed into the "organizational center of the movement" and functioned as an arm of the mass black church.⁷⁶

SNCC. The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee was founded in 1960 by black college students who wanted an organized, but youthful, outlet for participation in the fight for civil rights. The initial tactic of the organization was the utilization of sit-ins as a form of protest against segregated public facilities. Later, other forms of protest, such as marches, were advocated by the organization.⁷⁷

Events

The formation and momentum of the modern civil rights movement was directly influenced by a highly significant legal battle and victory that was led by the NAACP. With

the Supreme Court's 1954 decision in Brown v. Board of Education, the doctrine of separate-but-equal, previously the foundation of legalized segregation, was ruled inherently unequal and unconstitutional in the field of public education.⁷⁸ The Brown decision established a legal precedent upon which the movement would not only test the implementation of integration in schools, but throughout American society.

The case, which consolidated four other cases,⁷⁹ grew out of the frustrations of black parents who were forced to send their children to segregated schools that were usually housed inadequate facilities, and in some states were located farther away from the black community than white schools. The NAACP attorneys who handled the case(s) argued that segregated schools imposed social and psychological handicaps upon black children by inflicting unrealistic racial isolation upon them. The attorneys asserted that black children would grow up in a country where whites composed a large majority of the population. In addition, the attorneys maintained that segregated schools retarded the educational and mental development of black children.⁸⁰ Brown v. Board of Education overturned an 1896 Supreme Court decision in Plessy v. Ferguson through which the Court had given legal validity to segregation. The separate-but-equal

doctrine brought about by the Plessy case deemed segregation constitutional as long as blacks were provided with accommodations equal to those of whites.⁸¹

In 1955, the Little Rock, Arkansas school board began making plans for school integration in keeping with the mandate of Brown v. Board of Education. After much modification, the school board adopted a plan which would integrate one white high school with a limited number of black students within a three-year period.⁸² Shortly thereafter, white opposition, supported by Arkansas Governor Orval Faubus, threatened to forestall implementation of the plan.⁸³ Consequently, a federal court order secured by the NAACP admonished the school board to implement the plan. The board next screened black students for potential enrollment. Eventually, nine students, "The Little Rock Nine," were selected.⁸⁴ However, prior to the actual enrollment of the black students, Governor Faubus, who was against school integration, ordered the Arkansas National Guard to surround central high school.⁸⁵ As a result, when the nine black students attempted to attend school on September 4, 1957, National Guardsmen prevented them from entering.⁸⁶

By September 14, 1957, President Dwight Eisenhower informed Governor Faubus that Supreme Court orders had to be

obeyed. Eisenhower also noted that the use of the National Guard should have been as protection for the black students rather than a hindrance to their enrollment.⁸⁷

Subsequently, Faubus recalled the National Guard. Later, when mobs of segregationists surrounded the school to prevent the attendance of the black students, the mayor of Little Rock requested and received the assistance of federal military troops.⁸⁸

With United States Army troops surrounding the school, the Little Rock Nine finally attended class at Central High School. Army bodyguards escorted each of the black students to and from school and classes each day for several weeks, until order prevailed. The underlying theme of the Little Rock crisis--the conflict between state and federal government over the protection of civil rights--would recur in the struggle for civil rights.⁸⁹

In 1953, blacks in Baton Rouge, Louisiana boycotted their local bus system in order to protest segregated seating. The week-long boycott did not bring an end to local segregated seating on buses.⁹⁰ However, in 1955, the first major and successful mass action of the modern civil rights movement occurred when blacks in Montgomery, Alabama successfully conducted a thirteen-month boycott of their local bus company. The boycott resulted in integrated

seating on buses. As was the case throughout the South, blacks in Montgomery were required to ride in the back of local buses. Blacks also gave up their seats to whites as larger numbers of whites filled the front section and moved toward the rear. When a black woman, Mrs. Rosa Parks, was arrested for refusing to surrender her bus seat to a white passenger, the black community in Montgomery quickly mobilized, not only to support Mrs. Parks, but also to protest the unfairness and inequality of segregation. Under the leadership of King and Abernathy, and despite violence and intimidation by whites, blacks walked, car pooled, and sought legal remedy, until success--an integrated bus line--was won.⁹¹

With the coming of the 1960s, the momentum of the new movement spread and was intensified by the support and participation of black, and later white, college students. A major tactic employed by college students was the use of sit-ins as a protest against segregated public facilities. The first such sit-in of the movement occurred during February of 1960 in Greensboro, North Carolina. At that time, four black students⁹² from North Carolina Agricultural and Technical State University visited the local F.W. Woolworth department store where they sat down at the store's white-only lunch counter and attempted to place

orders.⁹³ Although the students were refused service, word of their action spread across the South and stimulated action by other college students not only at stores, but at libraries, hotels, and beaches as well.⁹⁴

The 1960s also witnessed the reintroduction of a protest tactic originally used by CORE. In 1947, an interracial group of CORE members attempted to ride public bus lines throughout the upper South in an attempt to confront and resist segregated seating of interstate bus passengers. The ride came to an end when the CORE members were arrested in North Carolina for violating segregation laws.⁹⁵ However, the ride later aided the modern movement by serving as a model for a new series of rides--the freedom rides--in 1961.

The 1961 freedom rides planned by CORE were designed to once again confront segregation in interstate transportation. The plan called for two interracial bus loads of CORE members to leave Washington, D.C. and travel throughout the South. During the rides, white members were to sit in the back of the buses and black members were to sit in the front. In addition, at each stop blacks would attempt to use white-only facilities--waiting rooms, rest rooms, lunch counters, and water fountains.⁹⁶

As in 1947, the 1961 riders ran into difficulty. One bus was burned by a white mob in Anniston, Alabama, while the riders of the second bus were beaten by white mobs in Birmingham and Montgomery, Alabama. Finally, under Alabama National Guard Protection, the freedom riders travelled from Montgomery to Jackson, Mississippi, only to be tried and imprisoned on their arrival. Despite the brutality inflicted upon the freedom riders, more than 300 additional riders followed in the footsteps of the initial riders throughout the summer of 1961.⁹⁷

In April of 1963, veteran civil rights workers and the SCLC once again took the center stage for one of the most violent episodes of the movement. After the city of Birmingham, Alabama closed its municipal parks, playgrounds, swimming pools, and golf courses rather than comply with a court order to integrate them, the city was targeted by King and the SCLC for protest action.⁹⁸ The SCLC Project "C" for confrontation set out to demonstrate against segregated businesses and lunch counters in addition to seeking the reopening of the closed public recreational facilities.⁹⁹ Hundreds of arrests resulted from the demonstrations including those of King and Abernathy.¹⁰⁰ Upon the release of King and Abernathy from jail, they launched a "children's Crusade," which called for black school children to conduct

marches in downtown Birmingham. King, Abernathy, and the SCLC believed school children could not be intimidated economically, as could their parents, and also that there was less of a chance for police brutality against children as compared to adults. According to Abernathy, "We were certain that even the most mean spirited cop would refrain from clubbing a very small child."¹⁰¹ However, Birmingham Public Safety Commissioner Eugene "Bull" Connor ordered the use of high-pressure fire hoses and police dogs against the young demonstrators after attempts to jail large numbers¹⁰² of marchers did not quell the protest. As outraged black adults joined the demonstrations, the toll of arrests went to over two thousand people.¹⁰³

With racial tensions continuing to mount and national and international attention focused on the city, white businessmen and city officials decided, within five weeks of the start of Project "C," to work out a desegregation plan with the SCLC. The plan provided for the integration of facilities--lunch counters, rest rooms, fitting rooms, water fountains--and the hiring of black sales personnel.¹⁰⁴

Shortly after the settlement was reached, National Guard and U.S. Army troops were dispatched to Birmingham by President John F. Kennedy, following President Eisenhower's example in Little Rock, to quiet racial violence related to the bombing

of several black homes and businesses.¹⁰⁵ Kennedy did not want the agreement between the SCLC and the white businessmen to be ruined by violent racism.¹⁰⁶

Fresh from and in part prompted by the violence of Birmingham, as well as the overall plight of black Americans, the stage was set for the movement's largest single outpouring of popular support. That support was demonstrated in August of 1963 when 250,000 people, black and white, from all over the country converged on Washington, D.C. to attend a mass rally designed to protest racism, segregation, and racial inequality. The March on Washington was also designed to show support for a civil rights act which would provide for the fair treatment, equal opportunity, and equal access to public facilities for blacks.¹⁰⁷

An earlier attempt at a march on Washington, planned by CORE in 1941, was not implemented. However, the CORE idea was successfully carried out during the 1963 march as the mass audience was presented with speeches, prayers, and music that stressed to the country and its leaders the need for equality and civil rights.¹⁰⁸ The day was highlighted by Martin Luther King's "I Have a Dream" speech in which King projected an America full of opportunity and free of hatred, racism, and injustice.¹⁰⁹ By July 2, 1964,

President Lyndon B. Johnson signed the Civil Rights Act of 1964, which outlawed segregation in public accommodations. The year 1964 ended triumphantly for the movement with the December awarding of the Nobel Peace Prize to its leader. King was awarded the prize for his advocacy and use of nonviolent protest as a means of securing civil rights for blacks.¹¹⁰

The movement next focused on the need for specific legislation designed to provide for the registration and protection of black voters. In 1963, blacks made up half of the voting population in Selma, Alabama. However, only one percent of voting age blacks were registered to vote. Selma's white voting officials made it difficult for blacks to register. Blacks were intimidated and the operation of the voter registration office was limited to two days per month.¹¹¹ Based on such conditions, SNCC members began an attempt to help blacks in Selma register to vote. By 1964, the SCLC was also drawn to Selma and targeted the city for demonstrations in the form of marches to the local court house on the days during which attempts at registration were allowed.¹¹²

At this juncture, King and the SCLC sought to illustrate to the nation the intimidation and violence encountered by blacks when attempting to register to vote.

In so doing, they also sought to put pressure on the federal government for voting rights legislation that provided for federal voting registrars.¹¹³ According to Abernathy, "we wanted a voting bill and we knew that we would never get one unless the American people saw what was going on in places like Selma."¹¹⁴

With the initiation of the SCLC's 1965 Selma demonstrations, protesters were soon brutalized by local and state law enforcement officers. On one such occasion, a protester, Jimmie Lee Jackson, was shot by an Alabama state trooper. Jackson died within a week.¹¹⁵ As a result of Jackson's death, the SCLC decided to broaden the Selma protest strategy by staging a mass march--the "Alabama Freedom March"--to Montgomery and presented Alabama Governor George Wallace, who opposed the march, with a petition demanding civil rights in Alabama.¹¹⁶ When six hundred people attempted to march on Sunday, March 7, 1965, they were met by numerous state troopers who use tear gas and billy clubs, while atop charging horses, to disperse the marchers. So many marchers were charged and beaten that the day of the march was dubbed "Bloody Sunday."¹¹⁷

Three days later, after word of Bloody Sunday shocked the nation, over 1,500 more potential marchers gathered in Selma to stage a second attempt. However, the second march also

proved unsuccessful when King, who was leading the march, was confronted by state troopers and consequently led the marchers back to their starting point. Later, the SCLC received court approval for a third march attempt. At that time, President Johnson ordered the use of U.S. Army troops --as did Presidents Kennedy in Birmingham and Eisenhower in Little Rock--as well as FBI agents, United States Marshals, and federalized Alabama National Guard units to protect the marchers. The number of marchers eventually swelled to 25,000 before the march reached Montgomery.

Upon their arrival in Montgomery, King and other civil rights movement leaders addressed a large crowd of supporters from the steps of the state capitol. Simultaneously, SCLC members unsuccessfully attempted to deliver the petitions to Governor Wallace.¹¹⁸ By August 6, 1965, President Johnson signed a voting rights bill after earlier condemning what happened in Selma as an "American Tragedy"¹¹⁹ and echoing, by way of a nationally televised address, the slogan of the movement, "We Shall Overcome."¹²⁰

Along with the successful bid for a voting rights act, the mid- and late 1960s also witnessed the doctrine of nonviolent protest--which had been advocated by King, other movement leaders, and major civil rights organizations--come under attack and eventually decline. During this time,

newer, younger, and more militant black leaders--Stokely Carmichael, H. Rap Brown, Huey Newton, and Eldridge Clever--began to advocate violent resistance to racism. Consequently, redress of racial inequality moved beyond court battles, marches, sit-ins, and other forms of peaceful protest, and toward militancy. With the 1965 race riots in Watts (Los Angeles, California) and Harlem (New York, New York) came a volatile combination of black frustrations and militancy that served to alienate some sympathetic whites and moderate blacks. In the process, militancy had a negative effect on the course, support, and intensity of the movement as a mass action.¹²¹

Martyrs

From slavery through the modern civil rights movement, countless numbers of blacks and whites were killed while attempting to secure freedom and equality for blacks. The civil rights movement incurred many casualties¹²² including, but not limited to, several well-publicized murders. For example, Medgar Evers, a NAACP Mississippi field representative, was shot to death in 1963.¹²³ Similarly, SNCC student voter registration volunteers Andrew Goodman, Michael Schwerner,--both white--and James Chaney were beaten

and shot to death in 1964 while working in Mississippi.¹²⁴

In addition, Jimmy Lee Jackson, a civil rights demonstrator was shot--and later died--by an Alabama state trooper while protesting in 1965.¹²⁵ James Reeb, a white minister, was beaten--and subsequently died--in 1965, by a mob while in Alabama to march with the SCLC.¹²⁶ Viola Liuzzo, a white SCLC volunteer, was shot and killed while driving SCLC freedom marchers in 1965.¹²⁷

One of the most devastating murders, in terms of the direction of the movement, occurred in March of 1968. While in Memphis, Tennessee to support a garbage workers' strike and coordinate SCLC strategy, King was shot and killed.¹²⁸ His death brought an end to the strong central leadership of the modern movement as well as an end to an era of mass, nonviolent, highly organized protests as a means of striving for civil rights.¹²⁹

The active life of the modern, nonviolent, civil rights movement, as well as the deaths of some of its workers and its leader were not in vain. During the course of the movement, from 1954 to 1968, many victories were won, including: the national exposure and condemnation of violent racism, the overturning of legalized segregation, the enactment of substantial federal legislation pertaining to civil rights (see Chapter 7), and the validation of

nonviolent movement methods through the awarding of the Nobel Peace Prize to its leader, King.¹³⁰ In essence, the movement provided an outlet for the venting of frustrations stemming from disenfranchisement, racism, and segregation, and helped blacks realize some of the hope and dreams that were first alluded to during Reconstruction. In addition, the civil rights movement provided the press, as a whole, and specific journalistic civil rights advocates--such as Golden--with a wealth of news on which to report or comment. The interaction between the press and the civil rights movement is discussed in the following chapter.

Notes

¹Harry Golden, The Right Time: An Autobiography, by Harry Golden (New York: Putnam, 1969) 237, 239, 242.

²Avery Craven, Reconstruction: The Ending of the Civil War (New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1969) 1-14.

³According to historian W.E.B. Dubois, some free blacks who owned land and property had the right to vote at earlier periods in American history. However, in most cases such black suffrage was taken away by state governments. Dubois noted that, prior to Reconstruction, black suffrage was taken away in the following states at the following times: South Carolina, 1716; Virginia, 1722; North Carolina, 1734; Georgia, 1761; Delaware, 1790s; Maryland, 1790s; Tennessee, 1796; Kentucky, 1799; Ohio, 1803; New Jersey, 1807; Louisiana, 1812; Connecticut, 1814; Indiana, 1816; Mississippi, 1817; Illinois, 1818; Alabama, 1819; New York, 1821; Missouri, 1821; Arkansas, 1836; Michigan, 1837; Pennsylvania, 1838; Texas, 1845; Florida, 1845; Iowa, 1846;

Wisconsin, 1848; Minnesota, 1858; and Kansas, 1861. See Dubois Black Reconstruction in America (New York: Russell and Russell, 1935) 6-8.

⁴Peter Camejo, Racism, Revolution, and Reaction, 1861-1877 (New York: Monad, 1976) 241; Thomas Brooks, Walls Come Tumbling Down: A History of the Civil Rights Movement, 1940-1970 (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1974) 14.

⁵Camejo 246.

⁶John Hope Franklin, Reconstruction After the Civil War (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1961) 80.

⁷LaWanda Cox, and John Cox, eds. Reconstruction the Negro, and the New South (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1973) xxiii.

⁸Dubois 627; Franklin, 135; According to Dubois and Franklin, sixteen blacks served in the Federal Congress during this time, including: Hiram R. Revels, a Senator from Mississippi, 1870-1871; Blanche K. Bruce, a Senator from Mississippi, 1875-1881; Jefferson P. Long, a Congressman from Georgia, 1869-1870; Joseph H. Rainey, a Congressman from South Carolina, 1871-1879; Robert C. DeLarge, a Congressman from South Carolina, 1871-1873; Robert B. Elliott, a Congressman from South Carolina, 1871-1875; Benjamin S. Turner, a Congressman from Alabama, 1871-1873; Josiah T. Walls, a Congressman from Florida, 1873-1877; Alonzo J. Ransier, a Congressman from South Carolina, 1871-1873; James T. Rapier, a Congressman from Alabama, 1873-1875; Richard H. Cain, a Congressman from South Carolina, 1873-1875, 1877-1879; John R. Lynch, a Congressman from Mississippi, 1873-1877, 1881-1883; Charles E. Nash, a Congressman from Louisiana, 1875-1877; John A. Hyman, a Congressman from North Carolina, 1875-1877; Jere Haralson, a Congressman from Alabama, 1875-1877; and Robert Smalls, a Congressman from South Carolina, 1875-1879, 1881-1887.

⁹Franklin 132-134.

¹⁰Franklin 133-135.

¹¹Craven 111.

- ¹²Franklin 80.
- ¹³Franklin 120.
- ¹⁴Franklin 130.
- ¹⁵Franklin 129.
- ¹⁶Camejo 151; Dubois 694.
- ¹⁷Dubois 694.
- ¹⁸Camejo 197.
- ¹⁹Camejo 197.
- ²⁰Camejo 197.
- ²¹Camejo 198.
- ²²Dubois 694; Camejo 198.
- ²³Craven 119.
- ²⁴Camejo 145.
- ²⁵Cox xiii.
- ²⁶Cox xiv.
- ²⁷Craven 120-121.
- ²⁸Craven 120-121.
- ²⁹Camejo 153.
- ³⁰Franklin 155.
- ³¹Franklin 157, 160; Camejo 145, 187.
- ³²Camejo 146.

³³Camejo 166; Franklin 130-131, 172.

³⁴Camejo 199.

³⁵Morris x; Brooks 8; For example, according to Lauren Kessler, Marcus Garvey preached black nationalism and the idea of returning to Africa. Garvey maintained that only by returning to their ancestral home could blacks ever achieve equality and live in social harmony, see Kessler 42.

³⁶Carolyn Martindale, The White Press and Black America (New York: Greenwood, 1986) 4.

³⁷The Civil Rights Commission was established by Congress to investigate the denial of civil rights to U.S. citizens and suggest appropriate action to Congress.

³⁸United States, Commission on Civil Rights, Civil Rights '63 (Washington, D.C., U.S. Government Printing Office, 1963) 1.

³⁹U.S. Commission 2.

⁴⁰Martindale 5.

⁴¹For example, according to Juan Williams, in 1963 the national average annual income was \$6,500 while only \$3,500 for blacks; See Williams Eyes on the Prize (New York: Penguin, 1988) 197; In addition, Martindale reported that black average annual income had only risen to 61% of white income by 1969, see Martindale 5.

⁴²Harrell Rodgers, Jr. "Civil Rights and the Myth of Popular Sovereignty,": Journal of Black Studies 12.1 (1981): 56-57.

⁴³Williams 197; Brooks 87; Aldon Morris, The Origins of the Civil Rights Movement: Black Communities Organizing for Change (New York: Macmillan, 1984) 1; Martindale 5.

⁴⁴Morris 1; U.S. Commission 73.

⁴⁵U.S. Commission 91.

⁴⁶U.S. Commission 90.

⁴⁷Morris 2; U.S. Commission 22-23.

⁴⁸U.S. Commission 13.

⁴⁹U.S. Commission 22.

⁵⁰U.S. Commission 53, 95, 129, 171.

⁵¹Harry Ashmore, The Negro and the Schools (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1954) 125.

⁵²Ashmore 130.

⁵³Ashmore 62-63.

⁵⁴Oliver Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas, 74 S.Ct. 686 and 347 U.S. 483, 1954.

⁵⁵U.S. Commission 68.

⁵⁶U.S. Commission 68.

⁵⁷U.S. Commission 96.

⁵⁸U.S. Commission 95.

⁵⁹U.S. Commission 129.

⁶⁰According to Thomas Brooks, by 1940 there were 5,000 blacks in the 269,023-man Army and 4,000 blacks in the 160,997-man Navy; See Brooks 9.

⁶¹Brooks 9; U.S. Commission 171, 214.

⁶²Brooks 52, 69.

⁶³Brooks 10.

⁶⁴Lauren Kessler, The Dissident Press (Beverly Hills: Sage, 1984) 42.

- ⁶⁵Brooks 55.
- ⁶⁶Brooks 50-51; Morris xi.
- ⁶⁷Morris 4.
- ⁶⁸Williams 289.
- ⁶⁹Williams 289; Ralph David Abernathy, And the Walls Came Tumbling Down (New York: Harper and Row, 1989) xii.
- ⁷⁰Abernathy 136-188.
- ⁷¹Morris 4.
- ⁷²Brooks 16, 19; Morris 12-14.
- ⁷³Williams 3-35.
- ⁷⁴Williams 125, 127; Brooks 50-51.
- ⁷⁵Williams 89; Abernathy 148, 186.
- ⁷⁶Morris xiii.
- ⁷⁷Williams 137; Morris xiii.
- ⁷⁸Brown v. Board 74 S.Ct. 686; Brooks 94; Williams 3-35.
- ⁷⁹The other cases were: Briggs v. Elliot from South Carolina, 342 U.S. 350, 72 S.Ct. 327; Davis v. County School Board from Virginia, 103 Fed. Supp. 337; Belton v. Gebhart from Delaware, 344 U.S. 891; and Bolling v. Sharpe from Washington, D.C., 347 U.S. 497, 74 S.Ct. 693; See Brown v. Board 74 S.Ct. 686; Williams 27, 31; Brooks 93.
- ⁸⁰Brooks 93; Williams 24.
- ⁸¹The black plaintiff, Homer Plessy, sat in the "whites only" passenger car while travelling by train. When he was ordered to leave the car, he refused to move. Consequently, Plessy was removed from the train by police and arrested. As a result, he sued the railroad, arguing that segregated public facilities were illegal; See Plessy v. Ferguson, 16

S.Ct. 1138 and 163 U.S. 537, 1896; Brooks 88-89; Williams 9-10.

⁸²Williams 92-93.

⁸³Williams 95.

⁸⁴Williams 96-97.

⁸⁵Williams 99-100.

⁸⁶Williams 102.

⁸⁷Williams 103.

⁸⁸Williams 106-107.

⁸⁹Williams 112.

⁹⁰Although the boycott disrupted the operation of the bus company for a week, black leaders accepted an offer from white bus and city officials. The offer stipulated fewer front seats (three) reserved for whites and all remaining seats filled on a first come first served basis with whites loading and sitting front to back and blacks loading and sitting back to front; See Morris 18-19, 24-25; Williams 60.

⁹¹Howell Raines, My Soul is Rested: Movement Days in the Deep South Remembered (New York: Putnam, 1977) 40; Brooks 94; Abernathy 133-136, 159, 160-161; Williams 61, 66-67, 88-89.

⁹²The four students were: David Richmond, Franklin McCain, Ezell Blair, and Joseph McNeil; See Williams 128.

⁹³U.S. Commission 107, 108; Raines 618.

⁹⁴Williams 127-129.

⁹⁵Brooks 62, 64; Williams 144-145, 147.

⁹⁶Williams 147-149; Raines 122.

⁹⁷Williams 147-149, 151, 153-155, 157-159; Raines 122.

⁹⁸Williams 179, 181.

⁹⁹Abernathy 241, 243; Raines 154; Williams 182, 193.

¹⁰⁰Abernathy 250; Raines 154.

¹⁰¹Abernathy 262.

¹⁰²According to Juan Williams, Connor had school buses brought in which transported 959 children to jail; See Williams 190.

¹⁰³"Dogs and Hoses Used to Stall Negro Trek at Birmingham" Atlanta Constitution 4 May 1963, 1.

¹⁰⁴Abernathy 268-269; Williams 193.

¹⁰⁵Abernathy 270; "Troops are Sent to Alabama Bases in Wake of Birmingham Rioting" Atlanta Constitution 13 May 1963, 1.

¹⁰⁶Williams 194.

¹⁰⁷Brooks 21, 26-28; Williams 197-199; According to Williams, of the 250,000 participants in the March, at least 60,000 were white.

¹⁰⁸Brooks 31; Williams 197-199.

¹⁰⁹Abernathy 280-281.

¹¹⁰David Garrow, Bearing the Cross: Martin Luther King, Jr. and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (New York: Random House, 1988) 337-338, 354-355.

¹¹¹Williams 252.

¹¹²Williams 255, 258.

¹¹³Abernathy 298; Williams 255.

¹¹⁴Abernathy 297-298.

¹¹⁵Williams 265.

¹¹⁶Abernathy 350; Williams 267.

¹¹⁷Williams 273; Garrow 394-400; Abernathy 330-344.

¹¹⁸Abernathy 354, 359; Raines 216; Williams 282.

¹¹⁹Williams 278.

¹²⁰I.F. Stone, "The Ultimate Stakes in the Voting Rights Struggle,": I.F. Stone's Weekly 22 March 1965, 1; Williams 278.

¹²¹Abernathy 497; Brooks 259; Kenneth O'Reilly, Racial Matters : The FBI's Secret File on Black America, 1960-1972 (New York: Macmillan, 1989) 293; Williams 287.

¹²²According to Ebony magazine, between 1957 and 1968 at least 40 black and white people, and countless unknown people, were killed in violence related to the civil rights struggle. In addition to the heretofore mentioned well-publicized deaths, they list lesser-known killings. See "Remembering the Martyrs of the Movement," Ebony Feb. 1990: 58, 60, 62.

¹²³Abernathy 614; Williams 221.

¹²⁴Abernathy 614; Williams 234-235.

¹²⁵Abernathy 360, 614.

¹²⁶Abernathy 360, 614.

¹²⁷Abernathy 360, 614.

¹²⁸Abernathy 416, 440-441; Williams 289.

¹²⁹Taylor Branch, Parting the Water: America in the King Years, 1954-1963 (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1988) 297, 922; Garrow 623-624.

¹³⁰Abernathy 385, 358; Branch 21, 124-125; Garrow 15, 59, 287, 337, 599; Williams 29-35, 198, 282; Joseph Alvarez, From Reconstruction to revolution: The Black's Struggle for Equality (New York: Atheneum, 1971) 103.

CHAPTER 4 THE PRESS AND THE CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT

This chapter examines the interaction between various segments of the press and the civil rights movement. It discusses press coverage and advocacy of the movement and the movement's need and use of press coverage. The chapter has two sections. The first section concentrates on the transition of the civil right movement from primarily a black press story to one covered by the national press. The second section concentrates on four of Harry Golden's journalistic contemporaries who also advocated civil rights.

Journalistic Transitions

The Southern White Press

Many communications researchers and journalists who covered the civil rights movement have reported that most southern white-owned newspapers routinely portrayed blacks in a demeaning light during the early to mid-twentieth century. The southern white press was described as having

ignored all but the most sensational and negative news from the black community.¹ Broadcaster Joseph Brechner argued that white press coverage of blacks constituted a "boycott or censorship of positive, favorable news."² Researcher Lauren Kessler contended that when the white press did include news of blacks, it portrayed them as "clowns or criminals."³

Such practices were carried over to the early 1950s and the initial phases of the modern civil rights movement as the southern white press either ignored, downplayed, or reflected a negative perspective on desegregation efforts.⁴ In addition, researcher Carol Martindale argued that the little attention paid to blacks reinforced negative racial stereotypes. Martindale maintained that blacks were consistently portrayed as criminals, and news about crimes committed by blacks was often given more coverage than crimes committed by whites. She asserted that among southern white newspapers it was a long-standing practice to run all accusations of sex crimes committed by blacks on page one of the paper even if the paper had to report stories from other cities.⁵

Several white reporters who covered the movement for large southern and northern white newspapers also suggested that the southern white press presented negative coverage of

blacks and the movement. In the opinion of William Shipp, formerly of the Atlanta Constitution, "Some southern reporters bent over backward to try and show the warts in the civil rights movement."⁶ Similarly, Claude Sitton, formerly of the New York Times, asserted, "During the 1950s, there were [southern] racist columnists that made fun of the desegregation effort."⁷ Despite the poor treatment of blacks and the movement by the southern white press, former Jackson State Times reporter Charles Dunagan revealed "A lot of us realized, deep down, that blacks were being mistreated" by the white press.⁸ However, New York Times reporter Ted Poston noted that many southern white reporters "cynically defended myths they knew to be untrue--white superiority and Negro indolence."⁹ In addition, Alabama Times publisher Buford Boone contended that some southern white publishers downplayed news of blacks and the movement because to do otherwise would have been bad for business. In essence, according to Boone, "They [southern editors and publishers] let their obligation to their profession play second fiddle to their chamber of commerce membership."¹⁰

The Black Press

With such negative news coverage of the movement by the southern white press, the black press had to lead the way in aggressive factual civil rights press coverage. However, the black press was familiar with providing news coverage and advocacy for black-related topics that were shunned or distorted by the southern white press. From its beginning with Freedom's Journal in 1827, the black press established a tradition of giving blacks a voice to counter attacks by the white press, and also of campaigning for racial equality.¹¹ Historian Henry Lewis Suggs argued that, "American patterns of discrimination, separation, and exclusion spawned the black press."¹² Similarly, Kessler indicated that the black press began as a reaction to the denial of access to the conventional white press. She also pointed out that not only did black editors inform, inspire, and unify their readers, they exhorted their readers to act and told them how to do so.¹³

With the collapse of Reconstruction accompanied by deteriorating race relations, black disenfranchisement, and the increased use of violence against blacks, black newspaper editors of the late nineteenth century protested the numerous lynchings of blacks.¹⁴ The editors also

expressed bitterness, indignation, despair, and bewilderment at black disenfranchisement.¹⁵ During the early to mid-twentieth century, the black press continued to condemn violent racism and disenfranchisement while also calling for an end to racial discrimination and segregation in the military and in public schools.¹⁶

In keeping with the tradition of coverage and advocacy of black topics and issues, the black press provided the initial coverage and documentation of the modern civil rights movement.¹⁷ In the view of NAACP press secretary Henry Moon, the black press not only recorded, but served as the voice of the movement by demanding recognition of blacks as human beings and American citizens.¹⁸ Norfolk Journal and Guide publisher Thomas Young noted that the black press was a "protest press" that "sparked and nurtured the struggle for civil rights."¹⁹ For example, black newspapers encouraged and promoted the work of organizations such as CORE and SCLC, stressed racial unity, and advocated integration.²⁰ Ethel Payne, a black reporter who covered the movement for the Chicago Defender, a black paper, contended, "The black press flourished during the movement because it served an anti-racism need that was not met by the white press of the time."²¹ Likewise, Lawrence Still, a black reporter who covered the movement for Ebony and Jet

magazines argued, "The black press attempted to keep the white press honest by focusing in on those areas that they overlooked or covered without a black perspective."²²

By the 1960s, black press coverage and advocacy of the movement was significant enough to gain the attention of J. Edgar Hoover, the Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI). Author Kenneth O'Reilly reported that the FBI launched a "major investigation" of the black press. According to O'Reilly, Hoover "disapproved of what he [Hoover] believed to be a 'movement among black newspaper and magazine editors to subvert the established rule of law and order by promoting defiantly assertive ideas about race consciousness, self government and hostility to the white race.'"²³

The National Press

Although the southern white press was reluctant to cover the modern movement adequately, the national press eventually provided coverage. The national press took interest in the movement as a potentially major news story when the Supreme Court found segregated schools unconstitutional in their 1954 Brown v. Board of Education decision.²⁴ Reporter Robert Baker, formerly of the

Washington Post, recalled, "The Post editor thought that Brown v. Board of Education would open up a great big beat that would last for a long time."²⁵ Reporter Nick Kotz, formerly of the Des Moines Register, expressed the belief that the movement was "a big, dramatic story" and also indicative of "something very important."²⁶ Former NBC-TV News civil rights correspondent Herbert Kaplow contended, "All journalists of the time wanted to get a piece of the story."²⁷

As the civil rights movement progressed and proved highly eventful, national press coverage of, and sympathy for, the movement began to grow. Former Newsweek civil rights correspondent Karl Flemming revealed, "Most of the members of the press believed that the harsh treatment of blacks was not fair."²⁸ NBC-TV correspondent Richard Valeriani expressed the belief that many people identified the press with the movement. According to Valeriani, the press was seen as an "instigating and encouraging force on the movement."²⁹

Press sympathy--or perceived press sympathy--for the movement often led to economic and violent consequences for the press. John O. Emmerich, Jr. of the McCombs Enterprise Journal reported that the civil rights coverage of his paper resulted in the organization of whites who "knocked on doors

and told people not to subscribe." Consequently, the paper "lost 29% of its circulation."³⁰ William Minor of the New Orleans Times-Picayune commented that his paper was "shot at, windows knocked out, and a cross burned on the lawn" because of civil rights coverage.³¹

Broadcast journalists were also subjected to violence. While covering demonstrations in Selma, Alabama, Valeriani was attacked. He recalled, "Somebody walked up behind me and hit me in the head with an axe handle. I was stunned, put my hand to my head and saw that it was bleeding."³²

Similarly, CBS News cameraman Wendell Hoffman was also attacked while covering demonstrations in Selma. According to Hoffman, Sheriff Jim Clark sent a group of his officers to rough us up. They had sticks in their hands, and they were attempting to hit me in the testicles with their sticks."³³

With the emergence of interest and the development of coverage and sympathy from the national press, civil rights leaders soon realized that the press could facilitate the attainment of movement goals and objectives. While speaking to civil rights workers during the Birmingham demonstrations, King referred to the power of press coverage, noting, "We are not alone in this. Birmingham made the Huntley-Brinkley news show on NBC."³⁴ Abernathy

also stressed the importance and power of the press, noting, "The movement leadership learned that with the media focusing on our struggle night after night we could catch the attention of the nation's legislature" in attempts to secure federal civil rights legislation.³⁵ He also contended that, as the national press gave increasing attention to the movement, the story of the struggle moved to the front page of the New York Times and after that to the front pages of other papers throughout the country.³⁶ In addition, he maintained that the national coverage provided by television and important publications like Time, Newsweek, and the New York Times served to build national support for the movement.³⁷

With coverage from both the print and broadcast press continuing to grow, the movement indeed realized a powerful ally in the national press. As a result of the recognition of the power and potential of a sympathetic national press, civil rights leaders began to cultivate reporters and schedule movement public events at times that took into consideration factors like press deadlines and air times. Robert Baker, a former reporter for the Washington Post, recalled, "I frequently got tips from civil rights organizations about planned protests."³⁸ Another former Washington Post reporter, Haynes Johnson, maintained, "King

and his people had a genius for picking places for protests that would make news."³⁹ Similarly, Roy Reed, a former New York Times reporter, commented, "It is no question that a lot of the civil rights activities were timed for the six o'clock news and print deadlines."⁴⁰ In addition, Don Farmer of ABC TV revealed that civil rights organizations usually tipped off the press prior to many activities, and some activities were staged for the press. He contended, "The answer I received a couple of times on the phone to 'When is your next demonstration?' was 'When would you like it?'"⁴¹

Television

Television coverage, with its immediacy and vividness, was of particular importance to the movement. Television took the movement quickly and directly to the homes of America and much of the world. Through graphic filmed and live television reports to a mass audience, the movement gained the opportunity for a substantial increase in public sympathy and support. Brechner asserted that television coverage stirred the American conscience by vividly showing the viciousness of prejudice and by presenting a national dilemma that could not be overlooked, disavowed, or

neglected. He argued that television's on-the-scene coverage of "intimidation and bestiality" left an "indelible impression" on the minds of "indifferent Americans."⁴²

Acknowledging the "emotional provocativeness" of "moving pictures on a screen," Abernathy revealed, "Without television I doubt that we could have escalated the Montgomery boycott into the American civil rights movement."⁴³ Similarly, journalist William Peters asserted, "The Negro revolution of the 1960s could not have occurred without the television coverage that brought it to almost every home in the land."⁴⁴ Valeriani contended that television also brought about additional benefits to the movement by forcing the print media to be honest. According to Valeriani, television "forced print journalists to go and see what was happening," instead of merely calling possibly tainted sources and consequently distorting the news.⁴⁵

The impact of television coverage was exemplified in Birmingham and Selma. During the 1963 Birmingham "Children's Crusade," television provided the world with vivid coverage of high-pressure fire hoses and police dogs used against young demonstrators.⁴⁶ In 1965, television was also in Selma when Sheriff Jim Clark and deputies attacked protesters who were demonstrating for voting rights. Abernathy recalled "national television audiences" once

again saw the familiar sight of "southern law enforcement officers blocking the way of blacks who wanted to claim their rights as citizens and human beings."⁴⁷ Movement opponents, such as Selma mayor Joseph Smitherman, also acknowledged the impact of television coverage on behalf of the movement. He recalled that when freedom marchers were beaten by police while attempting to march from Selma to Montgomery, ABC television broke into regularly scheduled network programming with the story. According to Smitherman, "It [the TV coverage] looked like war," and, "went all over the country." He revealed, "After the telecast, the wrath of the nation came down on us."⁴⁸

As presented in this section, the bravery and sacrifice of the civil rights movement participants, the tradition of civil rights advocacy started by the black press, and the sympathy and dedication of the national press all contributed to a mutually beneficial relationship between the press and the movement. The relationship provided the press with one of the most important stories of the century and the opportunity to participate in the righting of civil wrongs. The same relationship facilitated the civil rights movement by providing a means through which violent racism and staunch segregation could be exposed to the nation and the world, thus providing a stimulus for popular and

governmental support. However, in addition to the civil rights advocacy of the black press, another group of journalists went beyond the exposure provided by the national press and advocated civil rights for black Americans. These southern white journalistic civil rights advocates are discussed in the following section.

Golden's Journalistic Contemporaries

As discussed earlier, the southern white press tended to ignore or slant coverage of blacks and the civil rights movement. Despite the inadequate coverage of blacks and the movement by the southern white press, several courageous southern white journalists, in addition to the traditional and substantial coverage and advocacy provided by the black press, dared to advocate equality and civil rights for black Americans. Golden, one of the most well-known and influential journalistic civil rights advocates, was also joined by other journalists in the fight for black civil rights. He found comfort, support, and inspiration through knowing that he was not alone.⁴⁹ Likewise, Golden believed that some of his journalistic contemporaries "did much to encourage the social revolution of the American Negro."⁵⁰

Like Golden, his journalistic contemporaries also attempted to eliminate southern racism and facilitate racial understanding. Each in his own way pointed out the evil of racism and the inequality of segregation while risking economic and physical harm. In addition, they denounced violence and promoted the concept of a peaceful and fair American society.

The background and advocacy of four of Golden's contemporaries, whom he considered friends, is briefly examined here. They include: Harry Ashmore, the executive editor of the Arkansas Gazette; Ralph McGill, the editor and publisher of the Atlanta Constitution; Percy Dale East, the owner/publisher/editor of the Petal Paper; and William Hodding Carter, Jr., the owner/publisher/editor of the Greenville Delta Democrat-Times.

Ashmore

Harry Ashmore considered Harry Golden a "gifted" and "highly effective civil rights advocate," who through an "irrepressible witty running commentary" in the Carolina Israelite "gently ridiculed preposterous manifestations of white supremacy" and helped to "Undermine resistance to desegregation."⁵¹ Unlike the satiric and humorous personal

journalism produced in North Carolina by Golden, Harry Ashmore produced straightforward non-humorous stories and editorials for a large Arkansas newspaper. Also unlike Golden, Ashmore was born and raised in the South. Throughout his career, Ashmore received numerous journalism awards and honors, including a Pulitzer Prize for distinguished editorial writing concerning civil rights during the 1957 "Little Rock Nine" crisis.⁵²

Harry Ashmore's civil rights advocacy stemmed from his youth and life in the South, based upon which he arrived at the conclusion that he could not afford to ignore the problems of blacks. Ashmore believed that avoidance of blacks by whites would compound racial problems.⁵³ He also believed that blacks should be treated equally to whites. In addition, it was Ashmore's opinion that blacks were forcefully subjugated by whites who, from slavery to segregation, fashioned racist philosophies and restrictive social devices--laws, institutions.⁵⁴ Ashmore was aware of the severity and complexity of racism. He was also aware that potential problems could have arisen from the "polar attitudes" of whites "who do not accept Negroes as equals," and blacks "who are no longer satisfied with anything less [than equality]."⁵⁵ Nonetheless, Ashmore believed that no problem was beyond resolution by reasonable people.

Ashmore maintained that journalism could facilitate the process of attaining racial equality by serving as a "two-way bridge between the world of ideas and the world of men."⁵⁶ His ideals and civil rights advocacy are exemplified by his editorial writing during the Little Rock Nine crisis. In response to Arkansas governor Orval Faubus' resistance to court-ordered school integration and order for the Arkansas National Guard to take over the building and grounds of Central High School, thus keeping blacks from attending the school, Ashmore responded with a front-page editorial that challenged the governor's decision. On September 7, 1957, in the Arkansas Gazette, Ashmore wrote:

[T]he issue is no longer segregation v. integration. The question has now become the supremacy of the United States in all matters of law. And clearly the federal government cannot let this issue remain unresolved no matter what the cost to the community.⁵⁷

[I]f Mr. Faubus in fact has no intention of defying federal authority now is the time for him to call a halt to the resistance which is preventing the carrying out of a duly entered court order. And certainly he should do so before his own actions become the cause of the violence he professes to fear.⁵⁸

McGill

Ralph McGill was "entranced" by Golden's writing and considered him a "sage and philosopher."⁵⁹ McGill also

occasionally used satire, Golden's dominant form, when writing about bigotry and racial inequality.⁶⁰ As a major civil rights advocate in Georgia and the South, McGill, like Golden, began to write about southern race relations during the early 1940s.⁶¹ However, unlike Golden, McGill spent most of his career at a large city newspaper, the Atlanta Constitution.

After starting as the sports editor with the Constitution in 1929, McGill worked his way up to editor by 1942, and publisher by 1960.⁶² He considered racial segregation and discrimination a curse endured by the South and believed that as long as white southerners were preoccupied with denying blacks advancement and opportunity, blacks would never enter the mainstream of American society.⁶³ Therefore, between the 1940s and the 1960s, McGill advocated civil rights for blacks in the pages of the Constitution by addressing racial hatred, violence, discrimination, and the wrongs of segregation. In doing so, he wrote about the rights of blacks at a time when many southern whites remained silent or hostile to changes in black social status.⁶⁴ Some white readers of the Constitution were offended by his civil rights stance. Consequently, McGill was regularly threatened, occasionally attacked, and generally hated by some southern whites.⁶⁵

Despite the unpopularity of McGill's civil rights stance, in parts of the white community, he believed that all free individuals had a moral responsibility to work toward the creation of a better world and oppose wrong even though it could lead to misunderstanding and criticism.⁶⁶ He also believed that blacks, in particular, "should not give up the struggle" for their rights.⁶⁷

McGill's unrelenting stance on civil rights led to a Pulitzer Prize for outstanding editorial writing that urged racial equality, among numerous other awards.⁶⁸ His civil rights advocacy is exemplified by several Atlanta Constitution editorials. Through these editorials, McGill expressed his condemnation of the tactics of Birmingham Public Safety Commissioner Bull Connor during the Birmingham demonstrations and provided his thoughts on the Nobel Prize and later assassination of Martin Luther King, Jr. During the Birmingham protests he wrote:

Birmingham's barbarism of dogs and water hoses. . . and the many instances of discrimination in other states, highlights an inescapable conclusion. It is that the nation's single most important internal problem at this place in time is how we deal with the minorities. The televisions of the world are showing pictures of Bull Connor's tactics as examples of American inequality.⁶⁹

He also wrote:

Birmingham, Alabama, by becoming a city of dreadful nights and days, managed to produce more critical world reaction than the mobs of Little Rock. . . . The vicious violence and the shocking example of hate and ill will were an affront to civilized conduct. Mr. Connor was quite unbelievable. . . he will not be forgotten, nor should he be, since he is a symbol we need to remember.⁷⁰

In terms of the 1964 awarding of the Nobel Peace Prize to Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., McGill wrote:

[I]t was his [Kings's] advocacy of. . . passive resistance that won him and his followers early success and attention. . . it [the Nobel Prize] was given in Europe by the Parliament of Norway after careful studies of numerous nominees. These Europeans have a view of Dr. King that is clearer than ours [southerners'], which has become befogged by emotions and prejudices. The Nobel Prize reminds us that the sooner more southern communities go to work at the fairly simple problem of human beings getting along with dignity and equality before the law, the sooner our potential will be realized.⁷¹

After the 1968 assassination of Dr. King in Memphis, Tennessee, McGill wrote:

White slaves killed Dr. King. The moment the trigger man fired, King was the free man. The white killer was a slave to fear, a slave to his own sense of inferiority, a slave to hatred, a slave to all the bloody instincts that surge in a brain when a human being decides to become a beast. The Memphis killer and his associates have done their own race a grave and hideous injustice. They have elected the beast in man. [I]t is perhaps too much to hope, but much of the violent reaction to this bloody murder could be blunted if in every city and town there would now be a resolve to remove what remains of injustice and racial prejudice from schools, from training and job opportunities, from housing and community life

in general. If injustice and inequity, if racist prejudices and discriminations now become the targets of all decent men and women, Dr. King's death may bring about what he sought for himself, his people, and his country.⁷²

East

P.D. East admired Harry Golden and considered Golden's work as an asset to the struggle for civil rights.⁷³ As a personal journalist who utilized satire to attack racism,⁷⁴ East was more similar in style to Golden than were Ashmore and McGill. However, East, unlike Golden, Ashmore, or McGill, incorporated the use of mock notices and advertisements in his satire. Like Ashmore and McGill and unlike Golden, East was born and raised in the South--Columbia, Mississippi.⁷⁵ As a young adult, he decided to start his own small town southern newspaper. With the founding of the Petal Paper in 1953, East realized his ambition of newspaper ownership and began putting out a paper that was initially devoted to features and local news from Petal, Mississippi⁷⁶ and, according to East, "designed to keep everyone happy."⁷⁷

In the fall of 1954, when the Mississippi state legislature considered abolishing the state's public school system in order to avoid integration, East decided to risk

the peace of his non-controversial newspaper by taking a stand on the school integration issue. Based on his belief that blacks were equal to whites, like Ashmore, and also on his belief in the United States Constitution, East editorialized against the proposed action of the legislature and began regularly attacking racism through the paper. As a result, within five years he lost all of his local circulation and advertising.⁷⁸

Surviving primarily on national advertising and circulation, and some international circulation, East continued to attack racism through the Petal Paper. Consequently, he started receiving threatening telephone calls, obscene letters, and in-person threats of violence. Harassment and threats of violence escalated to such an extent that East, fearing for his life and well-being, relocated the paper from Mississippi to Alabama.⁷⁹

Among the targets of East's intense satire were white supremacy organizations like the Ku Klux Klan and the various White Citizens Councils. In March of 1956, East learned of plans for the organization of a branch of the White Citizens Council in his community. He opposed the formation of the group by running a full-page notice that proclaimed:

Yes, you too can be Superior,
Join the Citizens Clan and Be Safe From
Social Worries.
Be Super-Superior.⁸⁰

The notice went on to list the benefits of membership, including:

- Freedom to interpret the Constitution to your own personal advantage,
- Freedom to yell 'Nigger' as much as you please without your conscience bothering you,
- Freedom to take a part in the South's fastest growing business, Bigotry, and
- Freedom to be superior without brain, character, or principle.⁸¹

In November of 1956, East continued his attack on the White Citizen Councils by running the following full-page announcement:

THE GOOD OF THE CITIZENS COUNCILS
 OF MISSISSIPPI

We present below our views on the good that has been and is being done by the Citizens Councils of Miss. since they went into business. The appreciation of the councils, as presented here, is not likely to be subject to change.⁸² [Remainder of page purposely left blank by East.]

In response to Ku Klux Klan cross burnings in Mississippi during 1957, East ran the following classified advertisement on the front page of his newspaper:

FOR SALE

Have quantity of used lumber desirable for making crosses. 2x4s well seasoned in 5-foot lengths. Kerosene furnished with orders of half dozen or more. Save on your cross burnings! Write Box 678, Petal, Miss., for full details. 'How to Build Your Own Cross Kit' free with all orders. Act today. . . or tonight!⁸³

Responding to Klan violence against blacks, in August of 1957 East printed a Lynching License Application Form in the Petal Paper. The form provided authorization for Klan members and other would-be lynchers to:

loathe, hate, scorn, condemn, despise, confiscate the property of, and incite and/or participate in mob action leading to the death by violence of any person or persons, of whatever caste, color, creed, religious or political belief, national origin, or geographical extraction. . . [based on the member's devotion to] the high and holy principles of white supremacy, southern womanhood, the gold standard, and superstition. . . . [And also based on a member's knowledge of] The approved techniques of crossburning, noose tying, witchhunting, drowning, decapitation, horsewhipping, mutilation, hanging, drawing and quartering, burning at the stake, tarring and feathering, character assassination, mudslinging, false accusation, filibustering, economic reprisal, and crucifixion.⁸⁴

Carter

Through his paper, the Greenville Delta Democrat-Times, Hodding Carter commented on the "southern scene," and fought for civil justice against racial injustice in the late 1940s and 1950s.⁸⁵ In 1932, during his earlier journalism career, Carter was fired from his position as a reporter for the Associated Press in New Orleans. At that time, his employer also informed him that he "would never make a newspaperman."⁸⁶ Carter ignored this setback in his career and vowed never to work for anyone else again. Subsequently, he returned to his hometown of Hammond, Louisiana, and within the same year started his own paper, the Hammond Daily Courier.⁸⁷

Having been born and raised in the South, like Ashmore, McGill, and East, Carter gained a first-hand perspective on southern race relations. Images from his early twentieth century Louisiana upbringing, such as his recurring vision of "a Negro woman dangling from a tree the morning after a mob had lynched her,"⁸⁸ later served to influence his thinking and writing about racism. Carter believed that patterns of racism, violence, and inequality were the central reasons for the social, political, and moral conflicts of the South.⁸⁹ In addition, he considered it

ironic that the agricultural economy of the South was built "on the back of unskilled black men"⁹⁰ yet blacks remained "unassimilated and unassimilable" in the South.⁹¹

Carter's civil right writing was also shaped by his relocation to Greenville, Mississippi. He moved to Greenville at the age of 29, at the invitation of the Greenville business community, where he bought and began to operate the Delta Democrat-Times as the only daily paper.⁹² As was the case with Golden, Ashmore, McGill, and East, many whites came to consider Carter controversial because of his pro-civil rights editorial stance. Carter's advocacy is exemplified by his comments on the treatment of civil rights workers by southern policemen:

With monotonous regularity civil rights activists in Mississippi claim they have been beaten either by law officers or prisoners bribed by the officers to attack them in various jails. Some of these protests can be discounted as so much propaganda. . . but too many are not fabrications. Too many are simple truth. . . . Even one would be too many; there have been far more than one. Again, we have personal knowledge of this. The jackboot approach to law enforcement--or to the preservation of the status quo--can only result in the creation of a brutalized public as well as police. . . . The midnight beating and the old-fashioned third degree are still too prevalent, especially where Negroes and civil rights 'outsiders' are concerned. While all-white Mississippi juries have refused to convict lawmen in several trials involving beatings, the evidence has been incontrovertible that the beatings occurred. It is more than a coincidence that the only prisoners who are consistently coming out of jail with bruises and black eyes are civil rights

activists. This isn't law. It is sadism hiding behind a badge.⁹³

Carter was regularly harassed because of his outspokenness. On many occasions, he received anonymous threatening and obscene telephone calls and letters.⁹⁴

According to Carter, some letters suggested that: he was "a nigger-loving yankee communist who advocated the mongrelization of the [white] race; his home was a "haven for visiting subversives from Europe, Africa, Asia, and New York City; the Delta Democrat-Times was "owned by a millionaire northern Negro" who used Carter as a "mouthpiece"; and the Delta Democrat-Times office was the "secret headquarters of the NAACP."⁹⁵

Carter's harassment was not limited to anonymous telephone calls and letters. In 1955, after editorializing against the formation of White Citizens Councils in Mississippi, as did East, the Mississippi state legislature passed a resolution declaring Carter "a writer of falsehoods."⁹⁶ An outraged Carter responded editorially:

By a vote of 89 to 19, the Mississippi House of Representatives has resolved the editor of this newspaper [Carter] into a liar because of an article I wrote about the Citizens Councils. If this charge were true it would make me well qualified to serve with that body. It is not true. So, to even things up, I herewith resolve by a vote of 1 to 0 that there are 89 liars in the state legislature. . . . As for the article, I stand by it. . . . Those 89 character mobbers can go to hell, collectively or singly, and wait there

until I back down. They needn't plan on returning.⁹⁷

The controversy surrounding the Citizen Councils eventually contributed to a loss of advertising revenue for the Delta Democrat-Times. Despite the financial setback, Carter continued to successfully operate the paper.⁹⁸

The work of individual journalists like Harry Golden, Harry Ashmore, Ralph McGill, P.D. East, and Hodding Carter served to complement and facilitate the work and accomplishments of civil rights leaders, organizations, and workers. Despite the risk of economic and violent repercussions, these journalistic civil rights advocates actively sought and encouraged right over wrong during a time when speaking out against racism was unpopular. In the process, discussion of the race issue was kept before the white audiences, blacks were provided with encouragement, and racial understanding and acceptance were aided.

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CHAPTER 5
THE BACKGROUND, CAREER DEVELOPMENT, AND
MOTIVATION OF HARRY GOLDEN

Harry Golden believed in an American dream which he saw as the "opportunity to enter open society, to go from class to class, from income to income, from place to place, from one level to another."¹ He also believed that obstructions which prevented segments of the population--such as blacks--from realizing the dream were blemishes on American society. Therefore, Golden encouraged Americans to perpetuate that "dream" for all citizens.² This chapter examines Golden's background and professional development in the context of the origins of his motivation to advocate black civil rights. The chapter also examines his philosophy concerning civil rights advocacy.

Background

Immigration and the Lower East Side

Harry Golden was born Herschele Lewis Goldhirsch in 1903 to Lieb and Anna Goldhirsch of Mikulintsky, Galicia.³ Golden's family, several members at a time, migrated to America between 1904 and 1905. Lieb Goldhirsch sought a better life for his family and opportunities that were not available to them in their home land. According to Golden, for Jews like his family, Mikulintsky was a cage without bars where they could not go into business, work as civil servants, or serve in the military at a rank higher than sergeant. Such limitations prompted the move of the family.⁴

Golden's father and older brother, Jacob, migrated first in order to work and save money for the passage of Golden, his mother, and two sisters, Clara and Matilda. Lieb worked as a Hebrew teacher and Jacob worked as a peddler. The two lived and worked in Canada, Chicago, and Minneapolis before they moved to New York City and sent for the remainder of the family.⁵ Upon the arrival of the family at the Ellis Island immigration center, an official

inadvertently spelled the family name Goldhurst instead of Goldhirsch.⁶ The family kept the last new name.

The reunited Goldhurst family settled in a four room apartment of a crowded tenement on the predominantly Jewish lower east side of New York City. The accommodations were harsh and drab. According to Golden, only two windows admitted sunlight to the crowded dwelling. Golden shared a windowless area with his younger brother Max and his older brother Jacob. In addition, he noted that the kitchen served as the dining room as well as the bedroom for his two sisters. Golden revealed that the kitchen stove was used to heat the apartment. His family also shared an outdoor toilet with other tenants.⁷

Despite the crowding and poverty of the lower east side, the Goldhurst family, like many of the Jewish immigrants of the area, sought to make the most of the potential for success in America. According to Golden, massive armies of garment workers and peddlers of all sorts of items--eyeglasses, chocolates--filled the streets of the lower east side demonstrating the need and importance of work. In the Goldhurst household everyone worked and contributed to the support of the family. Golden's father, a licensed notary, performed marriages and continued teaching Hebrew. Golden's mother worked as a seamstress

while Jacob continued peddling. In addition, Clara and Matilda had factory jobs.⁸

Childhood and Work

Golden's means of helping out the family, and his first job, was selling newspapers. Between 1912 and 1917, he sold papers for varied and numerous publications. Among the Jewish papers sold by Golden were the Jewish Daily Forward, the Varheit, the Tageblatt and the Tog. He also sold a Chinese paper, Sa Mongee, in Chinatown. In addition, Golden sold several large dailies including the New York Globe, Journal, Mail, Post, Sun, Telegram, and World.⁹

Throughout his childhood, Golden also worked in various other jobs to help out at home. At different times he worked as an errand boy, a pretzel delivery boy, a clothing delivery boy, a messenger, a hat sizer, and a sheet music salesperson.¹⁰ Although he worked, Golden also found time to enjoy and learn from movies, reading, and school. According to Golden, east side boys loved the movies and went regularly. He contended that westerns, in particular, taught the immigrant boys traits such as heroism which they admired and wanted to emulate in order to be liked by other Americans.¹¹ Golden also recalled, "The early westerns like

Bronco Billy, conferred upon us the ideals of American manhood--speak the truth and shoot straight."¹²

Golden also loved reading and school. He revealed that as a child he had a deep affection for books from the moment he learned to read. He indicated that he would read entire shelves of books at the library and always carried a book with him on the trolley car and at lunch during work. Golden's interest in reading helped him complete public school and three years of college--night school--at the City College of New York while holding jobs.¹³ His love of reading combined with one of his childhood jobs also led to one of the most important developmental experiences of his young life.

After starting a job as a stock clerk for a wealthy furrier, Oscar H. Geiger, Golden and Geiger became friends based on their mutual interest in reading. The teenage Golden's love of reading prompted Geiger to invite him to join a literary club. Geiger's Round Table Literary Club was primarily composed of middle and upper class boys of various religions--Protestant, Catholic, Jewish--who had a keen interest in reading.¹⁴

According to Golden, Geiger ran the club of ten boys¹⁵ like a college seminar. Geiger required the boys to read and discuss books, deliver lectures, and debate each other.

In addition to reading and discussing the works of writers such as Shakespeare, Milton, and Cervantes for the club, Golden also read the works of blacks such as Booker T. Washington and W.E.B. Dubois on his own.¹⁶ The relationship with Geiger and the interaction with the Round Table Literary Club enabled Golden to enlarge his sphere of reading and to develop the critical thinking he would later call upon as a journalist and a social commentator.

Young Adulthood and Prison

Like his childhood job and association with Geiger, a job during Golden's young adulthood also had a great influence on his future journalism career. By the age of 23, a newly married Golden¹⁷ had progressed from his series of childhood jobs to a stable position working at his sister Clara's stock and brokerage firm. After thoroughly learning the business during the mid-1920s, he decided to start a stock brokerage firm of his own--Kable and Company.¹⁸

Golden's firm specialized in the sale of stocks and bonds on a partial payment installment plan. Under this installment plan he promised customers that they could buy stocks and bonds at prevailing market prices. However, the stocks and bonds would not be transferred into the name of

the customer until the full price had been paid. In addition, Golden collected his full commission from the first payment. Through the installment plan, he gained financial success. He noted, "As soon as I made a profit for one investor dozens of his friends, relations, and neighbors gave me money to invest."¹⁹

The confidence gained by Golden's success led him to venture into another variation of the partial payment plan called "bucketing", which held the potential for making more money quicker. According to Golden, through bucketing a brokerage did not buy or sell stocks on the day the customer instructed the brokerage to do so. In essence, the firm waited for a stock to rise or fall and then would buy or sell the stock. Such late buying and selling allowed brokers to make an extra profit--beyond commissions--depending on how low the value of a stock went on a "buy order" or how high the value went on a "sell order" before the actual buy or sell. If a broker waited too long to buy or sell he stood the chance of suffering great financial loss.²⁰

Although Golden initially made money through bucketing, by 1926 he misjudged the stock market and waited too long to buy a stock which was on the way up in price. As a result, he lost money for himself and many of his customers. Golden

could not afford to pay profits or repay the original investments to his investors. Consequently, he sold his house and declared bankruptcy. Based on the complaints of his upset customers, Golden was eventually indicted by a grand jury, tried, and convicted of using the mails to defraud. He had written to clients that they had credit balances with his brokerage when in fact neither the firm nor Golden had the funds to secure the claims.²¹

In 1929, Golden was sent to prison. He was determined to make the most of a bad situation and, therefore, made constructive use of his time. While there he served as a teacher of reading and mathematics for other convicts. He also worked as a bookkeeper and a librarian. However, highly significant in terms of his future journalism career, is the fact that Golden began working as a journalist. He served as the editor of his prison paper.²² At this point in Golden's life, he reached a crossroads. He decided that upon his release from prison he was going to get a fresh start and make the best of the remainder of his life. He did not want to suffer the consequences of any more ambitious business ventures such as the one which landed him in prison. Golden decided that he was going to take advantage of the knowledge he gained from years of reading

and the experience he gained working on the prison paper by becoming a professional journalist.²³

Freedom and Journalism

Golden was released from prison in 1933. With time off for good behavior he served almost four years--three years, eight months, and twenty-two days--of a five year sentence. His brother Jacob eased his transition back into free society by providing him with a job as a hotel manager in New York City. Golden took the job on the condition that he could resign at a moment's notice, pending success in his quest for a newspaper job. However, he was not initially successful in his search for a newspaper job and, therefore, worked at the hotel for five years.²⁴

Like Golden's childhood job with Oscar Geiger, and his young adulthood job at Kable and Company, his hotel job was also significant in terms of the journalistic civil rights advocate he would become. Golden credited an incident which occurred during his years at the hotel as his "initiation into the civil right movement."²⁵ He recalled that Jack Johnson, the first black world heavyweight boxing champion, needed a hotel while staying in New York. Golden rented a room to Johnson despite the opposition of several white

hotel guests. Golden indicated that he wanted to do something because he was upset over the reaction of the white guests and sorry for Johnson.²⁶

Career Development

Pre-Carolina Israelite Journalism

By 1938, Golden's ambition of becoming a professional journalist was well on the way to realization. He managed to get a job writing and selling promotional advertising for the New York Mirror. Golden went on to become a reporter for the New York Post. When the prospect of a higher paying job availed itself Golden decided to leave New York and relocate to Norfolk, Virginia. He accepted a position as a promotional salesman with the Norfolk Times-Advocate where he sold space and wrote copy for advertisements. At this point in his career, Golden decided to change his last name from Goldhurst to Golden in order to disassociate his stock market and prison past from his new and promising journalism career.²⁷

In 1941, Golden received a job offer to write editorials and sell advertising space for a North Carolina paper, the Charlotte Labor Journal--the official paper of

the American Federation of Labor in North Carolina. With Golden's acceptance of the Labor Journal job, he headed for Charlotte. Several months after his arrival in Charlotte he changed jobs again. This time he was offered a position as an advertising salesman with the Charlotte Observer.²⁸

Golden's search for the best job had finally placed him in the right location to fulfill his destiny as an outspoken journalistic civil rights advocate.

Black Awareness and Motivation for Advocacy

Golden's arrival in North Carolina made him highly aware of the desperate plight of blacks in the South. Likewise, his awareness led to the crystallization of his motivation to fight for black civil rights as well as his philosophical outlook on civil rights and race relations--racism, segregation--in the United States. When Golden first arrived in Charlotte, as a 39 year old northern Jew, he was admittedly "naive" in terms of personal experience with the severity of racism and segregation in the South.²⁹

As a child on the lower east side, Golden rarely saw blacks, although he had read about them. Blacks were such a novelty that the first time he and his childhood friends saw a black man in their neighborhood they followed and watched

him out of curiosity.³⁰ As a young adult, Golden rarely thought about the plight of blacks. He contended that as an immigrant Jew, he was "in haste" to adapt himself to the customs and traditions of his new country. In essence, he was busy attempting to become successful in business and a part of the society.³¹

Golden's naivete was soon replaced by the reality of southern race relations after he settled in Charlotte. He came to believe that southern whites "put all their efforts into denying humanity to Negroes, depriving and dehumanizing them because of their color."³² For example, he revealed that as a white stranger to Charlotte and an immigrant in America, he would "walk down the street and Negroes whose ancestors had been in America for over three hundred years would step off the sidewalk and tip their hats" in deference to him.³³ Golden also recalled that when he attempted to sit in the "colored" section of a segregated bus in Charlotte he was verbally abused by the white driver until the bus reached his stop. Golden argued that "a white man could not even rise and give his seat to a pregnant Negro woman without the bus driver ordering them both off the bus."³⁴

The prevalence of institutionalized segregation in the South "nagged" Golden. He believed that such segregation

made him as a white man "an involuntary accomplice" in the repression of blacks.³⁵ He was "nagged" when he spoke to blacks and they addressed him as "boss." He was "nagged" when he was answered "Yessah, Yessah," by blacks.³⁶ Most of all, Golden felt, "It was nagging to realize that Negroes were afraid of me."³⁷ The condition of race relations in Charlotte left Golden "morally vexed" for the "first time" in his life.³⁸ The plight of blacks in the South left him outraged.³⁹

As an immigrant, Golden loved his life and freedom in America. He was deeply offended by the role of second-class citizen which had been forced upon blacks.⁴⁰ He believed that such a second-class citizenship was "dead wrong" and contrary to the ideal of the American dream of freedom, justice, and opportunity for all.⁴¹ Therefore, Golden wanted to save his beloved country from the hypocrisy of the second-class citizenship which he believed inflicted cruelty upon blacks and corrupted whites.⁴²

Golden's enlightenment on conditions in the South led him to develop a sense that the South was on the verge of a revolution. He foresaw a revolution which he believed the southern white press would down play⁴³ because "to report this story meant describing the lot of the Negro" to the

world.⁴⁴ Therefore, Golden concluded that the story would one day be his.⁴⁵

Golden, Southern Jewry, and Civil Rights

As presented, Golden was motivated by his outrage over the plight of blacks in the South. He was also motivated by his love for America and desire to make it better--rid it of a second-class citizenship--and his recognition of a void in the fair and accurate press coverage of blacks. In addition, Golden's Jewish heritage served as a factor which prompted him to advocate black civil rights. Golden's awareness of his ancestry contributed to his personal concern for the well-being of blacks. As a Jew, he empathized with the suffering and cruelty inflicted upon them by whites in the South. He was well aware of similar suffering endured by Jews throughout history. For example, Golden believed that, were it not for the immigration of his family, they would have all perished in the holocaust during World War II.⁴⁶ His concern for the well being of others also stemmed from his mother's devout observance of Judaism.⁴⁷ According to Golden, his mother's whole life was family and religion.⁴⁸ As a result of his mother's strict attendance at synagogue, Golden also attended regularly

during his childhood and was instilled with a concern for his fellow man.⁴⁹

Golden believed that the struggle for civil rights by blacks was directly related to Jews and that Jews as well as blacks would benefit from the fight. He noted that Jewish custom dictated that "even a beggar must make a contribution to society."⁵⁰ In addition, he believed, "when a man fights for others he fights for himself."⁵¹ Golden contended that the civil rights movement caused the American Constitution to become a "living document" which protects the rights of all citizens, including Jews.⁵² He also asserted the fight by blacks for their civil rights set an excellent example which Jews and others could follow when needed.⁵³

Although Golden's Jewish heritage was a motivating factor in his civil rights advocacy, such was not the case with the southern Jewish community as a whole. According to Golden, many other southern Jews took a less active part in the struggle for black civil rights.⁵⁴ He believed that many southern Jews were nervous when it came to civil rights and they did not want to "rock the boat."⁵⁵ He contended that such Jews would rather maintain "strict neutrality" than run the risk of replacing blacks as "scapegoats"--victims--in the southern white gentile society.⁵⁶

Golden's thoughts on southern Jews and the civil rights movement are also supported by others writing on the topic. According to Lenwood Davis, with the exception of Jews like Golden, most southern Jews did not support the civil rights movement. He noted that many southern Jews were merchants who depended on the goodwill of their white gentile neighbors for business. Consequently, they were afraid of economic reprisals.⁵⁷ Similarly, Leonard Dinnerstein contended that southern Jews feared being different from white gentiles. He noted that southern Jews always considered how gentiles would react to activities such as Jewish participation in the civil rights movement.⁵⁸

Golden also indicated that some southern Jews went beyond neutrality to hostility toward blacks. In one such instance, Golden used the Israelite to respond to a fellow Jew who was upset about black demands for civil rights. The man thought the blacks, unlike Jews, Italians, Greeks, and others, failed to pull themselves up by their bootstraps.⁵⁹ In his editorial response to what he termed "A Letter from an Angry Jew" Golden argued that Jews, Italians, Greeks, and others could not have pulled themselves up if they had to face racism and segregation from the majority of the population when attempting to better themselves. Golden

stressed that blacks faced race related obstacles that were imposed on them by the larger society. According to Golden:

We Jews would not have pulled ourselves up by our bootstraps if we had to sit in the back of the bus and if we could not enter a restaurant and if every conceivable obstacle were thrown in the way of our voting and our schooling.⁶⁰

Golden's Civil Rights Philosophy

As indicated, Golden derived motivation to fight for black civil rights from various life circumstances and his Jewish heritage. Similarly, the factors which motivated Golden also led him to develop his own outlook on civil rights advocacy. For example, Golden's awareness of a lack of support for the civil rights movement by southern Jews led him to develop his "Es vet Gurnisht Helffren" or "nothing helps" philosophy of Jewish participation in the civil rights movement.⁶¹ Based on this philosophy, Golden believed that southern white gentiles routinely accused the Jews of instigating blacks to demand their civil rights. As a result, Golden saw the neutrality of southern Jews as futile in terms of minimizing the accusations. Therefore, he reasoned that southern Jews might as well help out with the civil rights movement because they were going to be blamed anyway.⁶²

Golden's philosophy on the need for a civil rights movement stemmed from his belief that the flaw of racism in American society resulted in the unfair and unequal treatment of blacks. Golden believed that such unfairness and inequality was manifested through problems including not only segregation, but the denial of voting rights, substandard health care, and inadequate educational and employment opportunities for blacks.⁶³ Golden was disturbed by what he perceived as irony in the unfair and unequal treatment of blacks by whites.

For example, on the issue of segregation, Golden wondered how and why blacks were allowed to provide service to whites in the best hotels yet could not sleep there themselves.⁶⁴ In terms of the denial of black voting rights, he wondered how whites could allow blacks to supervise the affairs of their [white] households and care for their children, yet, place "a million obstacles in his [blacks] path when he wants to vote."⁶⁵ On the issue of health care, Golden wondered "why in these great rich United States [in 1960], the infant mortality rate of the Negro is five times that of whites."⁶⁶ And, in terms of education and employment, he wondered why he saw so few black physicians and other professionals and such an abundance of black

waiters, maids, and janitors.⁶⁷ Golden knew that this irony was nonetheless reality for black Americans.

Golden also believed that the plight of blacks was related to another manifestation of racism, namely caste. According to Golden, "southern whites always felt that the Negro stood between them and social oblivion."⁶⁸ He contended that poor whites, in particular, needed to have blacks in a subservient position in order to maintain their own self esteem and prevent the diminishment of their status as whites.⁶⁹

Golden maintained that the advancement of blacks through the American caste system was necessary for the well being of blacks as well as whites. He concluded that black progress into the "mainstream of American society"⁷⁰ would bring even greater victories to white southerners. According to Golden, "when you draw a line and say that certain people should not cross it, you will spend the rest of your life watching the line."⁷¹ In this regard, Golden believed that southern whites would one day have to stop watching the "other side of the line" or the "back of the bus" which would result in the freedom to continue on with their own lives.⁷²

Golden also saw the fight for civil rights in a broad context. He acknowledges the idea that blacks, because of

color, could not simply change their names and identities as other groups had done to hide their origins. Therefore, blacks had to fight for laws to counteract the manifestations of racism.⁷³ However, Golden felt that even though blacks were identified with the need for civil rights, the fight for civil rights was one for all Americans.⁷⁴ The form and substance of Golden's means of fighting, his journalistic civil rights advocacy, is examined in the following chapter.

Notes

¹Harry Golden, "The American Dream," Johns Hopkins Magazine April 1962: 36.

²Golden, "The American Dream," 8, 36-37.

³Mikulintsky, Galicia was formerly a part of the Soviet Union; William Goldhurst, personal interview, 27 Feb. 1989; Harry Golden, The Right Time: An Autobiography, by Harry Golden (New York: Putnam, 1969) 19; Harry Golden, letter to Tom Davis, 30 Sept. 1968, Box 9 File 10, Harry Golden Collection Part II, U of North Carolina at Charlotte.

⁴Golden, The Right Time 19.

⁵Harry Golden, "1910's: Harry Golden," Five Boyhoods ed. Martin Levin (New York: Doubleday, 1962) 45; Golden, The Right Time 20.

⁶Golden, "1910's" 44; Golden, The Right Time 19, 20, 28; Harry Golden, Travels through Jewish America (Garden City: Doubleday, 1973) 1; Golden used the last name Goldhurst until he began his career as a professional

journalist. See "Professional Development" section of this chapter.

⁷Golden, The Right Time 21-22; Golden, Travels through Jewish America 2; Harry Golden, "Five Boyhoods," Carolina Israelite May-June 1962: 11; Golden, "1910's" 39, 41; According to Golden, the address of the Goldhurst family was 171 Eldridge Street.

⁸Golden, "1910's" 50, 51, 55; Golden, Travels through Jewish America 2; Harry Golden, foreword, A Bintel Brief by Isaac Metzker (New York: Ballantine, 1971) 13-30.

⁹Golden, The Right Time 54; Golden, "1910's" 61, 63; Irving Howe, "The Yiddish Press," World of Our Fathers (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1976) 520, 523, 533, 545.

¹⁰Golden, "1910's" 61, 71; Golden, The Right Time 55-58.

¹¹Golden, "1910's" 67; Irving Howe "Growing Up in the Ghetto," World of Our Fathers (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1976) 259.

¹²Golden, "1910's" 67.

¹³Golden, "1910's" 54, 60, 61; Golden, The Right Time 45, 53.

¹⁴Golden, "1910's" 72-73.

¹⁵In addition to Golden, the other members of the Round Table Literary Club included: George Geiger, Oscar Geiger's son; John Duff, Golden's closest friend in the club; Murray DeLeeuw; Milton Bergerman; Sidney Davidson; Robert Gomperts; Chester Edelman; Henry Lowenberg; Elliott Barrett; and Milton Norwalk. See Golden, The Right Time 66.

¹⁶Golden, "1910's" 74-75; Golden, The Right Time 66-67.

¹⁷Golden married Genevieve Alice Marie Gallagher "Tiny" in 1926. She was an Irish Catholic school teacher from Scranton, Pennsylvania. The couple had four children: Richard, a writer who also served as Golden's associate editor at the Israelite; Harry Jr.--now deceased--a reporter who worked at various times for the Charlotte Observer, the

Detroit Free Press, the New York Post, and the Chicago Sun-Times; William, a writer and professor of American Literature at the University of Florida; and Peter, who was born mentally retarded and institutionalized until he died at the age of 19. Source William Goldhurst, personal interview, 27 Feb. 1989; Golden, The Right Time 97, 216-217.

¹⁸Robert Honner, "The Other Harry Golden: Harry Goldhurst and the Cannon Scandals." The North Carolina Historical Review 65 (1988): 155; Golden went into business with a nominal partner, Charles Kable, in order to use Kable's name for the company. Golden did not want to use the Goldhurst name so that he could prevent encroachment on Clara's firm, C. Goldhurst Company. See Golden, The Right Time 114.

¹⁹Golden, The Right Time 115.

²⁰Golden, The Right Time 117.

²¹Honner, 165; Golden, The Right Time 120. The 1929 case of United States v. Goldhurst and Kable was not recorded in a legal reporter.

²²Golden, The Right Time 154-155.

²³Harry Golden, For 2 Cents Plain (Cleveland World, 1958) 20; Golden, The Right Time 154-155, 210.

²⁴Golden, The Right Time 163, 171-173; Honner, 171. In 1973, after Golden had gained fame as a journalist, President Richard Nixon, at the request of Golden, granted Golden executive clemency for his mail fraud conviction; see Kays Gary, "Golden Pardoned for 1929 Crime" The Charlotte Observer 7 Dec. 1973; 1a-2a.

²⁵Golden, The Right Time 180.

²⁶Harry Golden, The Best of Harry Golden (Cleveland: World, 1967) 352; Golden, The Right Time 180.

²⁷Harry Golden, Harry Golden on Various Matters (New York: Anti Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, 1966) 5; Golden, The Right Time 224.

²⁸Golden, The Right Time 201, 224, 226, 250.

²⁹Golden, The Right Time 238.

³⁰Golden, "1910's" 64.

³¹Golden, The Right Time 116.

³²Golden, The Right Time 239.

³³Golden, The Right Time 237.

³⁴Golden, The Right Time 238.

³⁵Golden, The Right Time 242.

³⁶Golden, The Right Time 242.

³⁷Golden, The Right Time 242.

³⁸Golden, The Right Time 242.

³⁹Harry Golden, interview, Sunday Morning. CBS TV 25 October 1981; Harry Golden, "Civil Rights for a Selfish Reason," Carolina Israelite April 1964: 9; Arnold Markowitz, "Sense of Outrage Still Golden," Miami Herald 12 March 1972: 6N; William Goldhurst, personal interview, 30 March 1990.

⁴⁰William Goldhurst, personal interview, 30 March 1990.

⁴¹Golden, Sunday Morning.

⁴²Golden, The Right Time 239.

⁴³See chapter 4 of this study for a discussion of the southern white press.

⁴⁴Golden, The Right Time 250; Golden, Sunday Morning.

⁴⁵Golden, Sunday Morning; William Goldhurst personal interview, 30 Jan. 1990; See chapter 6 of this study for a discussion of Golden's journalistic civil rights advocacy.

⁴⁶Golden, Sunday Morning.

⁴⁷Golden, "1910's" 57.

⁴⁸Golden, "1910's" 58.

⁴⁹Golden, "1910's" 43.

⁵⁰Harry Golden, "Giving," Carolina Israelite Aug. 1956:
1.

⁵¹Golden, Harry Golden on Various Matters 47.

⁵²Harry Golden, "Harry Golden," Negro and Jew: An Encounter in America ed. Shlomo Katz (New York: Macmillan, 1967) 64.

⁵³Golden, Harry Golden on Various Matters 47.

⁵⁴Golden, Harry Golden on Various Matters 31.

According to Golden and others, with the exception of several southern rabbis, such as Abraham Heschel, Perry Nussbaum, Alfred Goodman, Charles Martinband, and Jacob Rothchild most southern Jews kept silent on the issue of segregation; see Harry Golden, "Integration and the Jews," Carolina Israelite March-April 1960: 7; Allen Krause, "The Southern Rabbi and Civil Rights," thesis, Hebrew Union College, 1967, 142, 184, 136, 238; Juan Williams, Eyes on the Prize: America's Civil Rights Years, 1954-65 (New York: Penguin, 1988) 279; and Lenwood G. Davis, Black-Jewish Relations in the United States, 1752-1984 (Westport: Greenwood, 1984) xii; Charles Mantiband, letters to Harry Golden, 2 April 1960, 4 May 1963, and 1 Sept. 1963, Box 13 File 7, Harry Golden Collection Part II, U of North Carolina, Charlotte; Harry Golden, letter to Charles Mantiband, 8 April 1960, Box 13 File 7, Harry Golden Collection Part II, U of North Carolina, Charlotte.

⁵⁵Harry Golden, "Jew and Gentile in the New South," Commentary Nov. 1955: 412.

⁵⁶Golden, "Jew and Gentile" 412; Golden, "Integration and the Jews" 7.

⁵⁷Davis xii; According to several scholars, many northern Jews did actively support and participate in the fight for black civil rights. For example, northern Jews were among the founders of the NAACP and CORE. In addition, northern Jews worked for and with other civil rights groups such as SCLC and SNCC; See Davis xi-xiii; Leonard Dinnerstein, "Southern Jewry and the Desegregation Crisis, 1954-1970," American Jewish Historical Quarterly 62 (1973): 231; Gus Solomon, The Jewish Role in the American Civil Rights Movement (London: Jewish World Congress, 1967) 22; and Ben Halpern, Jews and Blacks (New York: Herder and Herder, 1971) 182.

⁵⁸Dinnerstein 235.

⁵⁹Harry Golden, "Letter to an Angry Jew," Carolina Israelite Sept.-Oct. 1960: 17.

⁶⁰Golden, "Letter to" 17.

⁶¹Golden, "Harry Golden on Various Matters" 33; Golden, "Integration and the Jews" 7.

⁶²Golden, "Harry Golden on Various Matters" 33.

⁶³Golden, For 2 Cents Plain 251; Golden, The Right Time 246; Golden, "The American Dream" 8.

⁶⁴Golden, For 2 Cents Plain 251.

⁶⁵Golden, For 2 Cents Plain 251.

⁶⁶Golden, "The American Dream" 8.

⁶⁷Golden, The Right Time 246.

⁶⁸Golden, "Harry Golden on Various Matters" 31-32.

⁶⁹Golden, "Harry Golden on Various Matters" 32; Golden, "The American Dream" 36.

⁷⁰Golden, "Harry Golden on Various Matters" 20.

⁷¹Harry Golden, "The Negroes Give Us a Free Ride," Carolina Israelite Jul.-Aug. 1966: 14; Golden, "Harry Golden on Various Matters" 32.

⁷²Golden, "The Negroes Give" 14.

⁷³Harry Golden, So Long As You're Healthy (New York: Putnam, 1970) 128-129; Harry Golden, Ess, Ess Mein Kindt (New York: Putnam, 1966) 318.

⁷⁴Golden, Ess, Ess Mein Kindt 212-213.

CHAPTER 6
THE CAROLINA ISRAELITE AND GOLDEN'S CIVIL RIGHTS ADVOCACY

This chapter examines Golden's use of the Carolina Israelite for civil rights advocacy. Discussed are the origin of the Israelite, the form and substance of civil rights advocacy in the paper, and opposition to Golden's advocacy and the Israelite. In addition, the closing of the paper is also discussed.

Origin of the Carolina Israelite

Golden's Way

Harry Golden started the Carolina Israelite on a trial basis while working for the Charlotte Observer. According to Golden, the Israelite was first produced in October of 1941 as a sample publication, and 800 free copies were mailed out.¹ Although he focused the paper extensively on civil rights advocacy, during the 1950s and 1960s, the first several years of the Israelite were dedicated to coverage of the Jewish community.² During the 1940s, the paper's prime

liberal stance was Jewish-Christian brotherhood and understanding.³ For example, the paper covered topics such as anti-semitism, Jewish contributions to American society, Jews in World War II, Jews in medicine and science, the holocaust, and the history of Jews in the United States.⁴ In addition, the paper's banner at one time included the phrase "A Monthly Review of Jewish Affairs, Dedicated to Interfaith Amity" after the name.⁵

As Golden became aware of and sensitive to the plight of blacks in Charlotte and throughout the South,⁶ he decided to become an advocate of civil rights for blacks. He believed that blacks were capable of fighting their own fight, but he felt compelled to help in his own way.⁷ Golden's way was through switching from the printing of "news," personal and social columns, press releases, and wire service coverage.⁸ His own way was through shifting to the editorialization and advocacy of personal journalism⁹ in order to reflect his perceptions of and sensitivity to the black struggle for civil rights.¹⁰ He wanted to use the Israelite to point out how racism and segregation had harmed blacks and degraded whites.¹¹

Golden's way was not through targeting the Israelite at a black audience, although he kept in close contact with the black community.¹² Instead, Golden decided to aim the paper

at white liberals because he believed they could and would provide supplementary support for the movement by working for the advancement of blacks.¹³ Therefore, he sought to "recruit Jews and gentiles into the movement for civil rights for colored citizens" through the use of the Carolina Israelite.¹⁴ In order to accomplish his objective of civil rights advocacy and social commentary through the Israelite, Golden decided to emulate the personal journal and personal journalism of a friend, Emanuel Haldeman-Julius. Between 1916 and 1951, Haldeman-Julius published the American Freeman, a personal journal, as well as numerous other publications in Girard, Kansas.¹⁵

Haldeman-Julius and Golden's Prototype

Like Golden, Haldeman-Julius came from a family of Jewish immigrants, loved reading, and worked throughout his youth to help support his family.¹⁶ Also like Golden, Haldeman-Julius was described as a philosopher, humorist, editorialist, and objective thinker.¹⁷ This commonality not only led to friendship but to mutual admiration.¹⁸ Golden considered Haldeman-Julius a model personal journalist.¹⁹ Haldeman-Julius considered Golden a "good writer" with a

"lively, bright, and reasonable style" who was an excellent source on the South.²⁰

Golden was influenced by the frank opinionated writing of Haldeman-Julius and the format and style of the American Freeman.²¹ He considered the Freeman "the prototype of the Israelite."²² Likewise, Haldeman-Julius took credit for Golden's personal journalism in the Israelite. He noted, "It is my guess that my behavior as a writer has influenced him [Golden]."²³ The Freeman like the Israelite primarily ran editorials and social commentary. Topic coverage included food, literature, politics, religion, science, and autobiographical sketches by Haldeman-Julius.²⁴ Haldeman-Julius used the Freeman as a sounding board to address whatever issues he felt needed comment. According to him, "My pen is always used to write what I really feel and not what expediency might say I should put into words."²⁵ Golden sought to harness the same idealism in attacking racism and advocating civil rights for blacks.

Although the Freeman was not used for civil rights advocacy, as was the Israelite, Haldeman-Julius, like Golden was a foe of racism. He considered racial prejudice a significant societal problem and sympathized with blacks.²⁶ According to Haldeman-Julius, prejudice and injustice distorted white perceptions of blacks. Haldeman-Julius also

believed that discrimination was indefensible and that blacks should be treated as fellow human beings by whites. He noted that until blacks, like whites, were judged based on individual personality and behavior, there would be problems in race relations.²⁷

Haldeman-Julius's intolerance of racism is exemplified by his reaction to the treatment of blacks in public facilities. For example, he took offense during a concert by black opera star Marian Anderson when he noticed that 75 blacks, out of an audience of 3,000 whites, were "shunted into a remote corner of the concert hall [the right side of the balcony]." ²⁸ In addition, he recalled that Anderson could not get a hotel room or eat at a "decent" restaurant while in Joplin, Missouri for her concert. Haldeman-Julius was also upset by the lack of depth exhibited by the local paper, the Joplin Globe, in interviewing Anderson after the concert. He revealed "All this reporter could bring up in the presence of a superb artist was a series of questions about her hobbies--Did she make her own dress?, Was she interested in house work?, Did she cook?" ²⁹

As discussed, Haldeman-Julius, like Golden, was a foe of racism, although the Freeman was not used for civil rights advocacy. In addition, Golden not only sought to emulate the style and format of the Freeman in the

Israelite, he also sought to capture Haldeman-Julius' ideal of frank and opinionated writing. The following section discusses why and how Golden used frank, opinionated satire to advocate civil rights.

Form and Substance of Golden's Advocacy

Golden was a humorous, personable, and caring man who used frank, satiric humor as a tool to facilitate better interracial communication, understanding, and acceptance. He pointed out injustice in a humorous way³⁰ because he felt that people had "little sympathy with stolidity."³¹ He believed that the use of humor increased the likelihood that people would pay attention to and accept his point of view.³²

Golden also said that his use of satiric humor stemmed from his Jewish heritage. He considered humor "a part of the Jewish culture."³³ According to Golden, Jewish humor was a "deeply pessimistic irony" born of a need to mitigate centuries of "despair, poverty, and terror in Europe."³⁴ In essence, to Golden Jewish humor was a defense against a "hostile society."³⁵

Golden believed "the more desperate the problem the more humor was needed."³⁶ He also believed that the hopes

of blacks and Jews for equality and acceptance by the white gentile American society was equally intense.³⁷ As a result, Golden used the tradition of Jewish humor in his advocacy of civil rights for blacks. In the process, he clothed much of his criticism of racism and segregation in satire.³⁸

The Golden Plans

Throughout the pages of the Israelite, Golden attempted to promote laughter among his readership as a bridge of communication and understanding. He used his satiric wit to stimulate the public scrutiny of racist beliefs, traditions, and policies. Prevalent in the Israelite, between 1956 and 1968, was a series of 17 seemingly ridiculous recommendations for resolving various race related problems. These "Golden Plans" illustrate Golden's satiric humor and stance on racism and segregation.

The Vertical Negro Plan. Golden was prompted to write this, his first, plan in response to southern resistance to the Supreme Court's Brown v. Board of Education decision.³⁹ He asserted that the North Carolina state legislature was considering legislation which would eliminate the state's compulsory school attendance law in order to prevent

integration. He also noted that such legislation would establish educational expense grants in order to promote the establishment of private schools. In addition, Golden contended that the legislation would provide a local option whereby the majority of people in a school district--usually white--could elect to close any school.⁴⁰

As a result of such resistance, Golden proposed a plan to prevent the elimination of the public system of education and save "millions of dollars" in school duplication costs. He commented that in the South, "vertical segregation" had been eliminated. According to Golden, "Whites and Negroes stand at the same supermarket counter; deposit money at the same teller's window; walk through the same department stores; and stand at the same drugstore counters without incident."⁴¹ Therefore, he suggested that all seats be taken out of public schools and replaced with standing desks. He stressed that the plan would allow white and black students to stand and learn together.⁴²

Four years after Golden's 1956 introduction of this plan for school children, he adapted it for a slightly different use. He noted that the University of Alabama offered televised college courses for which only whites could receive credit--a picture or written declaration of race was required on each application. Therefore, based on

the Vertical Negro Plan, Golden offered a solution for blacks who wanted credit for the televised courses. He suggested that they promise on their application to stand up during the airing of all televised courses offered by the University.⁴³

The Out-of-Order Plan. In response to segregation of public facilities, Golden suggested a way to integrate and eliminate the cost of duplication. He concluded that due to tradition and intimidation, blacks were reluctant to use "white only" water fountains. However, Golden believed that whites would use "colored only" water fountains if no other option existed. Therefore, he suggested that an out-of-order sign be placed on "white only" water fountains. He theorized that whites would use the "colored only" fountains. He also believed that the plan could easily be extended to rest rooms.⁴⁴

The White Baby Plan. Responding to segregation at entertainment outlets--plays, concerts--Golden noted that blacks who served as caregivers--baby sitters, maids--for white children routinely gained access to white theaters without hesitation when accompanying a white child. Therefore, Golden recommended that blacks who desired to attend segregated plays and concerts should borrow a white child to take with them on such outings. Golden argued that

the plan would also solve the baby-sitting problem of thousands of white working mothers. He also recommended that blacks eventually set up a factory and manufacture white babies made of plastic, thereby allowing them to go to an opera or a concert whenever they wanted to go. He added that the dolls should all have blond hair and blue eyes. Such dolls, according to Golden, would give blacks priority over whites for the best seats in the house.⁴⁵

The Carry-the-Books Plan. In response to the "Little Rock Nine" school desegregation crisis in Little Rock, Arkansas,⁴⁶ Golden suggested a means through which black and white students could attend school together in peace. Noting that southern whites did not object to the presence of blacks who were servants or domestic workers, he proposed that black male students carry the books of their white male classmates, and black girls wear a miniature apron, like a maid, over their dresses. According to Golden, such a sacrifice by blacks would cause the mobs of segregationists to disband, thus eliminating the need for National Guard or federal troops.⁴⁷

The Turban Plan. In response to the problems of racial segregation in hotels, restaurants, and other public places, Golden recommended a solution. He noted that southern whites accepted some foreigners more readily than they

accepted blacks. He also contended that since the turban and the sari represented exotic and far away places, anyone wearing one or the other could easily go to a movie, ride a bus, or get a hotel room without fear of rejection.

Therefore, Golden suggested that black men wear turbans and black women wear saris in order to pass themselves off as Egyptians, Arabs, Indians, or other foreigners. He asserted that the use of such clothing would not only end racial segregation, but would bring much needed money to the North Carolina textile industry.⁴⁸

The White Citizens Plan. Through this plan Golden commented on the loss of popularity of the White Citizens Councils.⁴⁹ He noted that the loss of popularity was partially based on the fact that most major Christian religious denominations in the South, "the backbone of the citizens councils," decided to back integration after the Brown v. Board of Education Supreme Court decision.⁵⁰

Golden believed that various large white Christian religious denominations would themselves become integrated next. Therefore, he suggested that the white gentile members of the citizens council who really wanted to get away from blacks should "become Jews." As Jews, he noted, they would have "their own country clubs, swimming pools, rummage

sales, and book reviews." In addition, they would "never have to worry about Negroes again."⁵¹

The Standing Room Only Plan. In response to segregated movie houses, Golden noted that southern whites did not mind standing with blacks. Therefore, he proposed another adaptation of his Vertical Negro Plan. In this case he recommended that movie house owners remove all seats from their theaters and place "Standing Room Only" signs in front of the buildings. He reasoned that standing through a two hour movie would not be comfortable. As a result, he also recommended that "Vertical Hammocks" be installed so that patrons could lean during the movie. According to Golden, this plan would give blacks a chance to finally see first-run movies like whites. He also noted that the plan would revive movie attendance by making all patrons believe that the movies were very popular because the term "standing room only" usually indicated all seats were in use.⁵²

The Pogo Stick Plan. Through this plan Golden offered an additional adaptation of the Vertical Negro Plan as a solution for striking white Detroit, Michigan police officers. The white officers refused to issue traffic tickets as a show of outrage for having to ride--sit--in patrol cars with black officers. Golden noted that for many years white and black police officers had walked their beats

peacefully. Therefore, he suggested that the Detroit police force should use pogo sticks instead of patrol cars as a means of transportation. According to Golden, such a situation would allow the white officers to work with black officers in a vertical position. He concluded, "After all, they cannot patrol the whole city on foot."⁵³

The Loud-Talk Consensus Plan. Golden argued that segregation and the poor treatment of black by whites was based on fear fostered by myths and stereotypes. However, he also asserted that on a race-to-race basis whites were not usually discourteous to blacks. Along these lines, Golden recalled an incident where a black man attempted to eat at a small segregated restaurant in the South. The man was politely informed by a white waitress that he could not be served because the white diners would leave if he was. Upon the refusal of service the black man stood up, clapped his hands to gain the attention of the white customers, and announced aloud that he wanted to eat but would leave if anyone objected. When no one objected the man was served breakfast. Golden suggested that similar action by blacks around the country might end racial segregation by consensus.⁵⁴

The Save-the-Quiz-Show Plan. Through this plan, Golden responded to the voter qualification test that blacks were

required to take in order to vote in the South. He noted that television game shows might be made more interesting and lively by asking contestants questions similar to those used on the voter tests, such as "How many bubbles are in a pound of soap?"⁵⁵ According to Golden, white voter registration officials from the South should be used as contestants. He asserted that such a solution would not only perk up the game show ratings, but publicize the futility of taking such tests.⁵⁶

The Color-Happy Semi-Darkness Plan. When a white child with a dark complexion was mistaken for a light skinned black and consequently chased out of her North Carolina school, Golden took aim at "color insanity" in the South. First, he suggested that in order to prevent a similar situation from recurring, all southern school boards should "make provisions for children who have been tanned by the sun as well as those who are naturally dark."⁵⁷ He went on to recommend different classes for each different shade. For example, "peaches and cream complexions in one room" and "milk white" in another.⁵⁸

According to Golden, such a system of classes based on complexion would provide work for a battery of Color experts who would be responsible for determining exact skin shade. However, Golden warned that children might have to be

reassigned room to room as their color changed with the seasons. He also warned that families exhibiting a range of skin shades might be forcibly separated.⁵⁹

In addition, Golden also suggested that lighting should be taken into consideration in determining room assignment. He noted that lighting had an "effect upon both complexion and illusion."⁶⁰ Therefore, Golden recommended that "the best solution would be to hold all classes in semi-darkened rooms."⁶¹ According to Golden, "all the work would be done by memory and with phosphorescent chalk."⁶² He warned racists that students might form friendships on the basis of personality, common concern, and interest, instead of skin color.⁶³

The Dihydroxyactone Plan. According to Golden, a drug on the market, dihydroxyactone, could change white skin to brown. Therefore, he decided to discuss the potential benefit of the drug as a solution for racial problems. He noted that the drug could "kill two birds with one swallow"⁶⁴ by making everyone the same. As a result, he contended that dihydroxyactone could be used to put an end to the expense of dual, segregated, school systems and public facilities. Golden also asserted that the drug could put an end to the fears of whites who refused to work or

associate with blacks. He remarked, "\$3.40 a bottle" was a small amount to pay to put an end to segregation."⁶⁵

The Bond Issue Plan. Through this plan Golden noted that Jackson, Mississippi and many other southern cities boasted about their total large population--a combination of white, black, and other race--when seeking a high municipal bond rating or attempting to lure new businesses and industry. He argued that such southern cities "want it both ways" because they want to "include Negroes as part of their population but exclude them as people."⁶⁶ He suggested that the black population figure be segregated on bond applications so as to reflect the fact that blacks were not really citizens, but a separate "less-equal-than-white" group of people.⁶⁷

The No Rent Plan. Golden believed that white segregationists would experience "terrible anguish" upon the implementation of federal open housing legislation. Such legislation would prohibit racial discrimination in government financed housing. He also believed that blacks would attempt to gain access to government financed homes and apartments. As a result, Golden decided to comment on the potential opposition he thought blacks would face from their new white neighbors.

Golden indicated that prior to the proposed federal legislation, some blacks already lived in the finest homes and most modern apartments in the country. He also noted that these blacks were welcomed in their neighborhoods and did not have to pay rent or mortgages. The blacks Golden spoke of were "janitors, domestics, servants, and valets."⁶⁸ According to Golden, "only the Negro who wants to pay rent or mortgage is in trouble" and "denied" because he seeks equality.⁶⁹ He also noted that, "A Negro in a white jacket with a leather bow tie is acceptable any place."⁷⁰

Therefore, Golden proposed that blacks who wanted to move into the suburbs or white housing areas should wear "a white jacket and a bow tie for men" and "an apron for women."⁷¹ He asserted that such outfits would quell opposition and satisfy the white neighbors. He also added "of course, the Negroes must pay no rent to be acceptable."⁷²

The Potemkin Toilet Plan. Golden proposed an adaptation of his Out-of-Order Plan in response to racial segregation in public rest rooms. He noted that during many auditorium events there were usually more white women waiting in line to use the "white only" rest room than there were black women in line waiting to use the "colored only" rest room. He revealed that during the intermission of an event he attended "no fewer than 28 white ladies were

waiting in line to get into the powder room" while "the powder room of the Negro women was empty and silent."⁷³

Therefore, he suggested that "white only" rest rooms be done away with at arenas and fake doors marked with "white only " and "temporarily out of order/use Negro door" signs be installed. According to Golden, the plan would desegregate and save money on duplication.⁷⁴

The Alabama-Mississippi Plan. Golden used this plan to comment on separate-but-equal schools. He contended that Governors Ross Barnett of Mississippi and George Wallace of Alabama claimed that there was no reason to integrate public schools. According to Golden, both men argued that the black and white schools in their respective states were equal. Therefore, Golden suggested a test of the equality in Mississippi and Alabama. He recommended that black and white students exchange schools. Under this plan the white students would transfer to the "equal Negro schools" and the blacks would transfer to the "previous all white" schools. However, Golden added, the faculty, library, and other facilities were to remain in place at each of the "equal" schools.⁷⁵

The Insurance Plan. Through this plan, Golden responded to the bombing of black homes and churches in Mississippi and Alabama. He noted that insurance companies

in Mississippi and Alabama were underwriting new southern skyscrapers and shopping centers in addition to issuing accident and retirement plans for southern industry. He contended that the insurance companies were important businesses which were usually owned by influential southern white citizens. Therefore, Golden suggested that all Negroes and civil rights workers in the South take out a \$25,000 term insurance policy before going to church, to vote, or on a trip throughout the South. He also proposed a "Golden Negro Insurance Fund" to pay the premiums. Noting that the insurance companies probably did not want to go broke, Golden theorized that the influential white owners of the companies would not sit idly by while their insured clients and buildings were being blown and shot up. He asserted that they would, consequently, "put an end to the terror, bombing, and killing."⁷⁶

Use of the plans. Although most of the Golden plans were offered in jest, several were taken seriously and a few were actually implemented. For example, the Vertical Negro Plan was used in several different places.⁷⁷ According to Golden, this plan was used in 1957 by the Kress' department store of High Point, North Carolina. At that time the store management had all of the stools taken out of the store's snack counter. Golden found humor in being taken seriously

by the store. Although he had hopes that the stools would eventually come back--along with integration--Golden also saw several steps to the replacement of the stools. He commented, "Maybe one day Negroes can lean against the seats in a half-standing position" or "Maybe they will get to a forty-five degree angle without stirring up anything."⁷⁸

Golden also indicated that the Vertical Plan was used at other places. According to Golden, in 1962 the Danville, Virginia public library "took all the tables and chairs out."⁷⁹ He noted that in 1962 the restaurant at the Jackson, Mississippi municipal airport "pulled all the chairs out" so everybody could "eat standing up."⁸⁰ He also noted that in 1963 the Albany, Georgia public library "took all the chairs out" and blacks and whites had to stand together.⁸¹

In addition to the Vertical Negro Plan, Golden indicated that following the Turban Plan, a black newsman from Pittsburgh made a tour of the South wearing a turban. According to Golden, "the man was welcomed with open arms in the best hotels and a white women's society event sent him flowers and an invitation to make a speech."⁸² Golden also indicated that a "Negro Literary Club" in North Carolina "adopted my suggestion to wear turbans."⁸³ The 80 members

planned to "venture forth once a week to cafes, movies, or wherever they wanted to go."⁸⁴

Golden's Out-of-Order Plan was also successfully used. He persuaded a North Carolina department store manager to implement the plan. According to Golden "for the first day or two the whites were hesitant, but little by little they began to drink out of the "colored only" fountain. He noted that by the end of three weeks, "everybody was drinking integrated water without a single complaint."⁸⁵

Anecdotes and Other Humor

As indicated, Golden used his Golden Plans to offer suggestions and recommendations for various racial problems. In addition, he also used satire through the Israelite in other ways, to comment on racial injustice. Golden utilized unique editorial forms--awards, poems, anecdotes--to respond to a variety of race-related themes.

For example, Golden announced a "Bull Connor Award" in the Israelite in order to comment on the harsh treatment of black civil rights demonstrators by the police and fire departments under the control of Birmingham, Alabama Public Safety Commissioner Eugene "Bull" Connor.⁸⁶ According to Golden, competition for the award would be open to all black

and white Birmingham high school seniors. The award would include a college scholarship and a bronze medallion showing Connor directing police dogs. Golden also stressed that the medallion would be suspended by a piece of hose instead of the usual ribbon.⁸⁷

Golden tried his hand at poetry on at least one occasion. In response to the jailing of civil rights sit-in demonstrators throughout the South he wrote:

Thirty days hath September,
April June, and November
And any Negro who tries to
eat at Howard Johnson's⁸⁸

Golden also used numerous anecdotes in the Israelite in order to illustrate his point of view. Under the theme of "gradualism" he wrote a series of anecdotes on the reluctance of many white southerners to embrace the idea of equality for blacks. In one instance, he commented on the men's room of the Hoke County, North Carolina courthouse. He noted that there were three stalls marked "white," "colored," and "Indian," yet there was only "one urinal."⁸⁹

Similarly, on another occasion he commented on the emergency room of the Alachua County General Hospital in Gainesville, Florida. He explained that there were three thermometers in a row on a small shelf. The first one was labeled "white-oral," and the second "colored-oral," However, he noted the third thermometer was simply labeled

"rectal." According to Golden, "This is what I call gradual integration."⁹⁰

In another series of anecdotes Golden asserted that not only did whites treat blacks as second-class citizens, but some other minority groups also treated blacks poorly. He believed that this was the case because no one liked being the "low man on the totem pole."⁹¹ For example, he asserted "The Puerto Ricans of New York are telling their children to keep speaking Spanish so they will not be mistaken for Negroes."⁹² He also related the following story to illustrate his contention. There was a restaurant in Nevada which was owned by a Chinese couple. The cashier was "Anglo-Saxon," the waitresses "all Mexicans," the bus girls were "Navajo Indians," and the janitor was "an exchange student from India." Despite "all that color on board" when a black family attempted to eat at the restaurant they were run out by the "Chinese proprietor" who yelled, "No cullah here, no cullah."⁹³

Golden's concern about the use of color as a barrier between human beings led to other anecdotes. For example, he used the following story to stress the absurdity of color barriers. In Georgia, the color of the owner of a dead dog was the factor used to determine the section of a pet cemetery in which the dog could be buried. He contended

that a black dog owned by a white man could be buried in the "white dog" section. However, a white dog owned by a black man had to be buried in the "colored dog" section.⁹⁴

Golden also used anecdotes to comment on the variety of responses of whites and businesses to sit-ins. He revealed that some white store managers closed the lunch counters of their stores to prevent sit-ins.⁹⁵ However, he also described a unique approach taken by one Charlotte store. According to Golden, as one viewed the lunch counter of this store it looked as though it was surrounded by "enamelled palings." Upon closer inspection the "palings" were really counter stools with the seats taken off. When whites wanted something to eat they merely had to request a seat top from a white waitress and "she would hand it to you, and you screwed it on and sat down."⁹⁶ The waitresses would "hover over" the customers while they ate. As soon as the customer finished eating the waitress would "lean across the counter top and quickly grab the detachable seat."⁹⁷ Thus "only the sharp iron bar" was left for the black demonstrators.⁹⁸

In another sit-in story, Golden discussed how the tables were turned on whites during a sit-in. In this case, a group of whites decided to stage a protest of their own against black sit-in demonstrators. The whites followed the blacks to a department store. However, the store manager

thought they were with the blacks. Consequently, the police were called and the whites were ejected from the store. When they tried to explain their anti-black position to the store manager, he accused them of being "infiltrators."⁹⁹

The protocol of segregation was intriguing to Golden. He believed that such protocol was "highly complicated" and caused people to do "unnatural things." Therefore, Golden often commented on it. In the following anecdote he discussed the way for whites to drive their black maids to and from work. According to Golden, southern tradition dictated that when picking up the maid she would sit in the front seat of the car. The back seat was always reserved for "family, friends, and important guests."¹⁰⁰ Golden asserted that southerners also believed that it was not socially correct for a white to sit next to a black. Therefore, he noted that whites usually took their children with them when picking up the maid. Thus, the children sat in the back and the maid in the front without impropriety. Such an arrangement indicated to all onlookers that the black was not a distinguished guest, but indeed a maid.¹⁰¹

Golden also pointed out flaws in this system. For example, he questioned, if there were no children, would a white couple have children just for the sake of driving the maid? Golden also wondered, what if there were two maids?

He noted that a white driver would look like a chauffeur if the two maids sat in the back seat. Golden continued, "My readers on Mars will never believe any of this."¹⁰²

Non-Humorous Commentary

Although Golden was known for his use of satire, he also used non-humorous commentary when advocating civil rights through the Israelite. With such commentary, he presented his ideas and reactions on a variety of race related topics in a clear, concise manner. For example, on the issues of equality and civil rights he wrote:

Equality means the opportunity to become full citizens. Negro roots are deep in American culture. He only asks that these roots be allowed to send up shoots of aspiration that will blossom in fulfillment.¹⁰³

Civil rights is theirs [blacks] by reason of birth on American soil. They are not storming the castle or the cathedral to get something that belongs to someone else. They are marching to get something which belongs to them.¹⁰⁴

Golden also commented on segregation noting:

Racial segregation violates every known principle of Anglo-Saxon law because of double jeopardy. The individual is twice segregated. First by the segregation itself and second by the attitude of society.¹⁰⁵

In terms of white perceptions of blacks and the reality of black life, Golden noted:

White ideas of the Negro have in large part been formed by antecedent white men talking about Negro sex maniacs or wearing black-face and singing "Mammy." Most Negroes are intent on paying off a mortgage, buying life insurance, and hoping to save enough to educate their children.¹⁰⁶

Golden reacted to the poor treatment of blacks by the legal system in the South with the following comments:

On the surface, the Negro would appear to receive equal justice. Many southern judges are scrupulously fair. Others seem to view themselves less as impartial umpires and dispensers of justice than as defenders of white supremacy. Often the Negro accused of a major crime is forced to accept a court-appointed white attorney with little enthusiasm for his case. The ultimate responsibility is with the people to assure liberty and justice for all--in the South and across the nation wherever dual justice prevails.¹⁰⁷

Golden wrote the following comments in response to the national outcry surrounding the deaths of white civil rights workers such as Andrew Goodman, Michael Schwerner, Viola Liuzzo, and James Reeb:¹⁰⁸

[D]o you have any idea how many black bodies, black half-bodies, black headless bodies, are rotting in the swamps of Louisiana, Alabama, and Mississippi?¹⁰⁹

[A]llas, we ought to remember the hundreds upon hundreds of blacks who disappeared without an obituary or a mourner to sorrow for their deaths.¹¹⁰

[B]lacks were smart to encourage the participation of the white clergy, and the white men and women freedom riders. Martin Luther King once told me, "They look for white bodies." He was right.¹¹¹

Golden responded to the progress of the right for civil rights and warned against complacency with the following comments:

It is easy to say that much has been done for the Negro and that now is the time for a breather. But while we catch our breath, Negroes in the deep South are being terrorized for sending their children to desegregated schools. Some are being victimized by white supremacists and juries. Many are being denied a chance to compete on equal terms for decent jobs.¹¹²

As presented, Golden utilized the satiric humor of his Jewish heritage as a weapon in the fight for black civil rights. His satire took various forms, such as plans and anecdotes. In addition, he also used non-satiric advocacy. Despite the various forms of journalistic advocacy, Golden's message of equality for blacks prevailed. The following section discusses the opposition that Golden was confronted with while speaking out for blacks.

Opposition and the Closing of the Carolina IsraeliteOpposition from Without

Golden faced varied opposition to his civil rights advocacy through the Israelite. According to Golden, the typical response of southern white gentiles to the Israelite was in the form of comments such as "What is that fat little Jew doing coming down here telling us about our Negroes?"¹¹³ However, the reaction of southern white gentiles often took the form of harassment. The harassment included obscene hate mail and abusive late night telephone calls.¹¹⁴ Golden also received death threats by mail and telephone.¹¹⁵

Golden considered all hate mail a "sad manifestation of insanity."¹¹⁶ He revealed that one hate mail writer regularly wrote, in red crayon, "Kill all the nigger-loving Jews."¹¹⁷ Another writer described Golden as "a champion of niggers."¹¹⁸ According to Golden, hate mail senders even used obscenities in writing the address on the envelope. He asserted that they believed their messages, thereby, were seen by a wider audience such as postal employees and the secretary who handled the mail. Golden believed that writers of such mail labored under the false assumption that he read the letters with "trembling hands and a racing

pulse."¹¹⁹ He also revealed that hate mail was used more successfully by white bigots to pressure his local advertisers. As a result, he lost local advertising revenue and at one time had to borrow money to keep the paper going.¹²⁰

Golden considered abusive late night telephone calls more annoying than hate mail. One night he answered the telephone and the caller accused him of being a "nigger lover" and threatened to shoot him "right between the eyes."¹²¹ Golden also described another series of telephone calls. This time the caller continually telephoned him over a six-month period and during each call asked him, "Why are you doing this to us [whites]? Why do you take up for the Negroes?" Golden finally replied, in jest, "Why shouldn't I take up for the Negroes? I am half Negro."¹²² Despite Golden's humorous response to this caller, he considered such telephone callers, as well as hate mail writers, bigoted cowards who used phony names and reveled in the security of their anonymity.¹²³

Golden also encountered opposition from the local Charlotte Jewish community. According to Golden, the Charlotte Jews considered him "dangerous and insane."¹²⁴ He argued that local Jews always feared that one Jew might say or do something that would involve the entire Jewish

community."¹²⁵ Therefore, they feared that the white gentiles might believe that Golden and the Israelite spoke for the local Jewish community. Consequently, Golden revealed that many of Charlotte's Jewish business owners, who feared a loss of business or other reprisals, urged him to give up the paper.¹²⁶ However, Golden asserted that despite the fear, the Jews could not find a moral argument against his civil rights advocacy.¹²⁷

Golden revealed that some members of the Jewish community questioned his civil rights advocacy through the Israelite because of their perception of anti-semitism in the black community. In response, Golden stressed that, as a people, blacks suffered from the same faults and vices--hatred, greed--as other groups. He, likewise, emphasized that blacks shared "the same virtues as humanity everywhere."¹²⁸

Golden credited his eventual reprieve from the ire of his fellow North Carolina Jews to the friendship extended him by Dr. Frank Porter Graham, the president of the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. Graham, an influential white gentile, openly supported Golden's civil rights advocacy in the Israelite. According to Golden, when his friendship with Graham became public knowledge, the Jewish community in Charlotte "ceased and desisted"¹²⁹ in

their criticism because he had the stamp of approval of an influential white gentile.¹³⁰

Despite the opposition of many southern Jews and white gentiles, Golden also received positive reinforcement of his advocacy,¹³¹ especially on the national level. Many people considered Golden a responsible critic of racism and a civil rights spokesman.¹³² For example, as a result of his advocacy through the Israelite he was in demand as a speaker. In addition, he often appeared on national television shows such as Person to Person with Edward R. Murrow; The Today Show with David Garroway; The Tonight Show with Jack Paar, where Golden was a regular--appearing over ten times a year; and later The Tonight Show with Johnny Carson.¹³³

Ironically, in 1958, Golden became a victim of his own fame when opposition took the form of a strategically placed anonymous letter.¹³⁴ The letter, a copy of which was sent to the New York Herald Tribune, revealed that Golden was an ex-convict.¹³⁵ According to Golden, among other things, the unsigned letter said "Do you know that Harry Golden is a swindler, a cheat, and ex-con, and jail bird who has victimized widows and orphans?"¹³⁶

Golden had kept his past imprisonment a secret, known only to a few people, prior to becoming famous. Therefore,

the public revelation of his past through a Herald Tribune article¹³⁷ caused him great embarrassment. In addition, he did not want the publicity about prison to obscure or detract from the importance of the civil rights movement.¹³⁸

Golden was afraid that white racists would say, "There is one of your leaders who is nothing but an ex-convict."¹³⁹

Golden was surprised when the press, instead of scorning him, praised him for bouncing back and doing well after prison. Max Lerner of the New York Post captured the sentiment of the time when he wrote:

Who dares sit in judgment on a man like this, whose energies have been spent in joyous attack on so many hypocrisies in American life. . . ? Every day, every moment of his life, a man is renewed because he is washing away the past in the stream of the present. Whatever Harry Golden once was, he is no rake now. He does not have to prove he is a new man.¹⁴⁰

With such support, Golden was inspired to continue his advocacy of civil rights with a new zeal, because a burden he had carried for many years was finally lifted.

Opposition from Within

In the late 1960s, with the advent of the Black Power movement,¹⁴¹ the fight for civil rights turned away from the passive, nonviolent, resistance of the earlier days of the movement and toward black militancy.¹⁴² Consequently,

Golden began to oppose the direction of the civil rights movement. The shift in the ideology driving the movement caused him to lose his zeal for continuing the fight for civil rights. The onslaught of black militancy also caused Golden to lose his sense of humor concerning the movement. According to Golden, "The romance has gone from the civil rights movement. It went out the day the black militant came in."¹⁴³ He also noted, "There is nothing funny about it anymore nor do I attempt to find its humor."¹⁴⁴ As a Jew, Golden was also personally offended by the black power movement. He believed that black power leaders such as H. Rap Brown and Stokely Carmichael advocated violence and hatred toward all whites, including Jews.¹⁴⁵

Golden also became disenchanted because he believed that militancy was not only wrong but would lead to a backlash by whites. He indicated that in the early days of the movement, thousands of whites did not think it was right to speak out against civil rights because "how could they fight a group of Negroes kneeling on the sidewalk in front of Woolworth's praying to be allowed to eat at the snack bar? How could they fight a Negro protest which was using Christianity as a weapon for social justice?"¹⁴⁶ He believed that black militancy would lead to racial polarization and the elimination of a movement that was pushing ahead and

gaining success. According to Golden, "With polarization comes the elimination of protests, no more sit-ins or parades, no forward movement, no movement of any kind."¹⁴⁷

He asserted that the civil rights struggle would become more difficult with no end in sight because both the segregationist and the black militant were menaces to equity.¹⁴⁸ Golden's humor and spirit were also adversely affected by the 1968 assassinations of two friends, Martin Luther King, Jr. and Robert F. Kennedy.¹⁴⁹ Golden believed that the deaths of King and Kennedy were devastating to the civil rights movement because both King and Kennedy were central and important heroes with whom blacks and whites could relate. According to Golden, King chose religion as the vehicle to unify blacks and whites, while Kennedy chose politics, pressure groups, and lobbies.¹⁵⁰ He noted, "with King gone, equity for all will not come through a religious crusade; with Kennedy gone, it will not come through political innovation."¹⁵¹

Harry Golden closed the Carolina Israelite in February of 1968. He rationalized that he was losing money on the paper, he was getting too old to run the paper, and his audience was also growing old and dying off.¹⁵² But, as discussed, the opposition from within had also taken its toll on Golden.

Golden curtailed his activity during the late 1960s and 1970s after suffering a stroke. He died of congestive heart failure in October of 1981.¹⁵³ However, through the use of the Carolina Israelite during the 1950s and 1960s he facilitated equity for all by positively influencing the thoughts of many people on civil rights issues and concerns. Golden's appeal and significance are discussed in the following chapter.

Notes

¹Harry Golden, "25th Anniversary" Carolina Israelite Nov.-Dec. 1966: 8; Harry Golden, The Right Time: An Autobiography, by Harry Golden (New York: Putnam, 1969) 255. Golden also contended that the first regular issue of the Israelite was produced in February of 1942, See Golden "25th Anniversary" 8. However, according to others (including) Robin Brabham, the head of the Harry Golden collection at the U of North Carolina at Charlotte, the Library of Congress, and the Interlibrary Loan system, the first issue of the Israelite--vol. 1, no. 1--is dated February 1944. Brabham and Golden's son, William Goldhurst, suggest that if pre-1944 issues of the Israelite did exist they were probably destroyed in a 1958 fire which gutted Golden's home and office. Source: Robin Brabham, letter to Delores Jenkins, 21 Nov. 1989, Author's files; William Goldhurst, personal interview, 30 March 1990; Harry Golden, "Serials Search" Library of Congress DCLC/RLIN regular and bibliographic record April 1990: (DCLC 79645468-S); Harry Golden, "Serials Search" Interlibrary loan multiple screen April 1990. Also see Harry Golden, For 2 Cents Plain (Cleveland: World, 1958) 17.

²Harry Golden, The Best of Harry Golden (Cleveland: World, 1967) 16; Golden, The Right Time 255.

³William Goldhurst, personal interview, 30 March 1990.

⁴See for example: Harry Golden, "Anti-semitism," "Fighting Jews," and "History of Jews in America" in Carolina Israelite Feb. 1944: 4, 7, 8.

⁵See for example, the banner of Carolina Israelite Jan. 1947: 1.

⁶See Chapter 5 of this study for a discussion of Golden's concern about the plight of blacks in Charlotte.

⁷Harry Golden, interview, Sunday Morning. CBS TV 25 October 1981; Golden, The Right Time 251.

⁸Harry Golden, Unity in America Cleveland: World, 1958) 15.

⁹See Chapter 2 of this study for a discussion of personal journalism.

¹⁰Golden, Unity in America 16.

¹¹Golden, The Right Time 251.

¹²Golden, The Right Time 252.

¹³Golden, The Right Time 252.

¹⁴Golden, The Right Time 251-252. According to Golden, his readership included Christian and Jewish religious leaders; government and political leaders; business and industry leaders; newspaper publishers, editors, and writers; lawyers and doctors; and many of the famous people of the time. See Harry Golden, "Readership," Carolina Israelite March/April 1959: 9; and Golden, Unity in America 13. In addition, readership ranged from 400 in 1941 to 53,000 in 1959 and reached 49 states and 33 foreign countries. See Golden, "25th Anniversary" 8; Harry Golden, "Net Circulation," Carolina Israelite Oct. 1959: 12; Harry Golden, "Net Circulation," Carolina Israelite May 1959: 9; and Harry Golden, "The Carolina Israelite's Printing," Carolina Israelite Feb. 1957: 1.

¹⁵Haldeman-Julius was a prolific writer and publisher. In addition to the American Freeman his numerous other periodicals included: Life and Letters, The Critic and Guide, the Haldeman-Julius Weekly, the Haldeman-Julius

Monthly, the Haldeman-Julius Quarterly, Questions and Answers, Notes and Comments, Views and Reviews, Little Blue Books, and Big Blue Books. See Emanuel Haldeman-Julius, The First Hundred Million (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1928) 1-12, 179-221; Albert Mordell. "E. Haldeman-Julius--His Career and Personality," American Freeman Nov. 1951: 1; Albert Mordell, The World of Haldeman-Julius (New York: Twayne, 1960) 19, 21, 30, 31; David White, ed. Little Blue Books (New York: Arno, 1974) 1-2; and Golden, The Right Time 252; "Little Blue Books," Time 15 Aug. 1960: 38, 39.

¹⁶Harry Golden, foreword, The World of Haldeman-Julius by Albert Mordell (New York: Twayne, 1960) 5-7; Mordell, The World of Haldeman-Julius 9, 23, 25; Harry Golden, "Haldeman-Julius--The Success that Failed," Midstream: A Quarterly Jewish Review 3.2 (1957): 28; Harry Golden, letter to M. Grusd, 30 Sept. 1951, Box 24 File 150, Harry Golden Collection Part II, U of North Carolina, Charlotte.

¹⁷John Gunn, "My Friend Emanuel," The American Freeman Nov. 1951: 1.

¹⁸Mordell, The World of Haldeman-Julius 22; Mordell, "E. Haldeman-Julius--His Career and Personality" 1.

¹⁹Golden, The Right Time 255.

²⁰E. Haldeman-Julius, "One of My Readers," The American Freeman July 1951: 1; Mordell, The World of Haldeman-Julius 22, 24; Golden, The Right Time 253; Harry Golden, "Emanuel Haldeman-Julius," Carolina Israelite Jan./Feb. 1968: 8.

²¹Harry Golden, letter to William Ryan, 28 July 1969, Box 8 File 27, Harry Golden Collection Part II, U of North Carolina at Charlotte; William Ryan, letter to Harry Golden, 25 July 1969, Box 8 File 27, Harry Golden Collection Part II, U of North Carolina at Charlotte.

²²Golden, The Right Time 252, 255; Golden, "Emanuel Haldeman-Julius" 8.

²³E. Haldeman-Julius, letters to Harry Golden, 28 Jan. 1951, 8 Mar. 1951, and 12 May 1951, Box 8 File 26, Harry Golden Collection Part II, U of North Carolina at Charlotte; Mordell, The World of Haldeman-Julius 24.

²⁴Golden, "Haldeman-Julius--The Success that Failed," 26, 30; Golden, The Right Time 252, 255.

²⁵Emanuel Haldeman-Julius, "Writers," The American Freeman May 1951: 2.

²⁶Mordell, The World of Haldeman-Julius 9.

²⁷Emanuel Haldeman-Julius, America's Fakirs and Guides, Little Blue Book Series 1288 (Girard: Haldeman-Julius, 1928) 9.

²⁸Mordell, The World of Haldeman-Julius 156.

²⁹Mordell, The World of Haldeman-Julius 159.

³⁰William Goldhurst, "My Father, Harry Golden," Midstream June/July 1969: 68, 73; William Goldhurst, personal interview, 30 March 1990.

³¹Harry Golden, The Golden Book of Jewish Humor (New York: Putnam, 1972) 11.

³²William Goldhurst, personal interview, 30 March 1990.

³³Golden, The Golden Book of Jewish Humor 12.

³⁴Harry Golden, "Jewish Wit," Carolina Israelite Dec. 1965: 5.

³⁵Golden, "Jewish Wit," 5.

³⁶Golden, The Golden Book of Jewish Humor 12.

³⁷Golden, The Golden Book of Jewish Humor 16.

³⁸William Goldhurst, personal interview, 30 March 1990; Golden, The Golden Book of Jewish Humor 11.

³⁹Oliver Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas, 74 S. St. 686 and 347 U.S. 483, 1954. Also see Chapter 3 of this study for a discussion of Brown v. Board.

⁴⁰Harry Golden, "How to Survive the Segregation Problem," Carolina Israelite June 1956: 1.

⁴¹Golden, "How to Solve" 1.

⁴²Golden, "How to Solve" 1; Golden, Only in America 121; Golden, The Best of Harry Golden 219-221.

⁴³Harry Golden, "The Peculiar Institution," Carolina Israelite Sept./Oct. 1960: 6; Harry Golden, So What Else is New? (New York: Putnam, 1964) 97.

⁴⁴Harry Golden, "The Golden Out-of-Order Plan," Carolina Israelite Feb. 1957: 1; Harry Golden, "Gradual Desegregation," Carolina Israelite Nov. 1958: 9; Golden, Only in America 123.

⁴⁵Harry Golden, "How to solve the segregation problem: The White Baby Plan," Carolina Israelite March/April 1957: 1; Golden, Only in America 122-123.

⁴⁶See Chapter 3 of this study for a discussion of the "Little Rock Nine."

⁴⁷Harry Golden, "The Golden Carry-the-Books Plan," Carolina Israelite Jan./Feb. 1958: 7; Golden, Unity in America 124.

⁴⁸Harry Golden, "Solve the Race Problem and Revive Textiles," Carolina Israelite Aug. 1958: 3; Harry Golden, "My Turban Plan and Sir Fitzroy," Carolina Israelite Feb. 1962: 9; Harry Golden, "The Turban is a Very Big Thing," Carolina Israelite Aug. 1956: 8; Harry Golden, You're Entitled (Cleveland: World, 1962) 200-202; Golden, The Best of Harry Golden 228; Golden, Unity in America 155.

⁴⁹See Chapters 2 and 3 for information on the White Citizens Councils.

⁵⁰See note #38.

⁵¹Golden, Only in America 139.

⁵²Harry Golden, "A Plan to Revive the Motion Picture Business in the South," Carolina Israelite Feb. 1959: 5; Golden, You're Entitled 201.

⁵³Harry Golden, "The Golden Pogo Stick Plan," Carolina Israelite April 1959: 2; Golden, For 2 Cents Plain 275.

⁵⁴Harry Golden, "A Plan to end Racial Segregation," Carolina Israelite Aug. 1959: 11.

⁵⁵Golden, The Best of Harry Golden 237.

⁵⁶Golden, For 2 Cents Plain 278.

⁵⁷Harry Golden, "We Are Color-Happy," Carolina Israelite Sept./Oct. 1960: 12.

⁵⁸Golden, "We Are Color-Happy" 12.

⁵⁹Golden, "We Are Color-Happy" 12.

⁶⁰Golden, "We Are Color-Happy" 12.

⁶¹Golden, "We Are Color-Happy" 12.

⁶²Golden, "We Are Color-Happy" 12.

⁶³Golden, "We Are Color-Happy" 12.

⁶⁴Harry Golden, "The New Drugs--An Easy End to Segregation," Carolina Israelite Mar./April 1961: 17. Dihydroxyactone ($C_3H_6O_3$) is an actual drug.

⁶⁵Golden, "The New Drugs" 17.

⁶⁶Harry Golden, "A New Golden Plan to End Racial Segregation," Carolina Israelite July/Aug. 1961: 1; Golden, You're Entitled 210-211.

⁶⁷Golden, "A New Golden Plan" 1; Golden, You're Entitled 210-211.

⁶⁸Harry Golden, "Another Modest Proposal," Carolina Israelite July/Aug. 1962: 4.

⁶⁹Golden, "Another Modest Proposal" 4.

⁷⁰Golden, "Another Honest Proposal" 4.

⁷¹Golden, "Another Modest Proposal" 4.

⁷²Golden, "Another Modest Proposal" 4.

⁷³Golden, You're Entitle' 201.

⁷⁴Golden, You're Entitle' 201.

⁷⁵Harry Golden, "Let's Put it to the Test," Carolina Israelite Sept./Oct. 1963: 16.

⁷⁶Harry Golden, "The Golden Vertical Insurance Plan," Carolina Israelite Sept./Oct. 1964: 15; Harry Golden, Ess, Ess Mein Kindt (New York: Putnam, 1966) 164-165; Golden, The Best of Harry Golden 260-261.

⁷⁷Harry Golden, "Goodbye," Carolina Israelite Jan.Feb. 1968: 5; Harry Golden, "Smorgasbord is Running the Golden Vertical Plan," Carolina Israelite May/June 1961: 9; Harry Golden, "The Golden Vertical Plan in Reverse," Carolina Israelite Nov./Dec. 1960: 18.

⁷⁸Harry Golden, "The Golden Vertical Negro Plan in Operation," Carolina Israelite Sept./Oct. 1957: 1.

⁷⁹Harry Golden, "The Vertical Plan in Operation," Carolina Israelite Sept./Oct. 1960: 9.

⁸⁰Harry Golden, "The Vertical Plan," Carolina Israelite July/Aug. 1962: 8.

⁸¹Harry Golden, "Indoors--Vertical Negro, Outdoors--Sittin' Down," Carolina Israelite May/June 1963: 1.

⁸²Golden, You're Entitle' 202.

⁸³Golden, "My Turban Plan and Sir Fitzroy" 9.

⁸⁴Golden, You're Entitle' 202; Golden, "My Turban Plan and Sir Fitzroy" 9.

⁸⁵Golden, "The Golden Out-of-Order Plan" 1; Harry Golden, "Golden Out-of-Order Plan in Operation," Carolina Israelite June 1958: 1; Golden, Only in America 123.

⁸⁶See Chapter 3 of this study for a discussion of Eugene "Bull" Connor.

⁸⁷Harry Golden, "The Bull Connor Award," Carolina Israelite May/June 1963: 12.

⁸⁸Harry Golden, "The Pickets Are Getting 30 Days in Jail," Carolina Israelite Sept./Oct. 1962: 12.

⁸⁹Harry Golden, "Gradual Integration," Carolina Israelite May/June 1962: 10.

⁹⁰Harry Golden, "Alachua General Hospital," Carolina Israelite Jan./Feb. 1962: 1.

⁹¹Harry Golden, "The Need for a Low Man on the Totem Pole," Carolina Israelite Aug. 1958: 8.

⁹²Golden, "The Need" 8.

⁹³Harry Golden, "No One Here but Us Chickens," Carolina Israelite Nov./Dec. 1961: 18.

⁹⁴Harry Golden, So Long as You're Healthy (New York: Putnam, 1970) 152; Harry Golden, "We Are All Colorless," Carolina Israelite Dec. 1958: 1; Harry Golden, "How About the Black Ink," Carolina Israelite May/June 1960: 24.

⁹⁵Harry Golden, "The Sit-ins provided Some Excellent American Humor," Carolina Israelite Sept./Oct. 1960: 2.

⁹⁶Harry Golden, "The Sit-in Demonstrations," Carolina Israelite March/April 1960: 5.

⁹⁷Golden, "The Sit-ins Produced" 2; Golden, "The Sit-in Demonstrations" 5.

⁹⁸Golden, "The Sit-ins Produced" 2.

⁹⁹Golden, "The Sit-ins Produced" 2.

¹⁰⁰Harry Golden, "The Negro Maid and Protocol," Carolina Israelite Jan./Feb. 1960: 14.

¹⁰¹Golden, "The Negro Maid" 14.

¹⁰²Golden, "The Negro Maid" 14.

¹⁰³Harry Golden, "The Revolution," Carolina Israelite Sept./Oct. 1963: 4.

¹⁰⁴Harry Golden, "The Negro Protests," Carolina Israelite July/Aug. 1963: 1.

¹⁰⁵Harry Golden, "Racial Segregation," Carolina Israelite Aug. 1955: 5.

¹⁰⁶Harry Golden, "The New Man," Carolina Israelite Nov./Dec. 1963: 13.

¹⁰⁷Harry Golden, "Southern Justice and the Negro," Carolina Israelite Nov./Dec. 1965: 15.

¹⁰⁸See Chapter 3 of this study for information on murdered civil rights workers.

¹⁰⁹Harry Golden, "Why didn't she stay home?" Carolina Israelite May/June 1965: 26.

¹¹⁰Harry Golden, "What's Behind it All?" Carolina Israelite Aug. 1964: 4.

¹¹¹Golden, "Why Didn't She" 26.

¹¹²Harry Golden, "The Future of Civil Rights," Carolina Israelite April/May 1967: 16.

¹¹³Golden, The Right Time 256.

¹¹⁴Harry Golden, "My Critics," Carolina Israelite July/Aug. 1965: 30; Golden, The Right Time 256; Harry Golden, Ess, Ess Mein Kindt 217; Harry Golden, "The Pressure on the Carolina Israelite" Carolina Israelite Oct. 1957: 4; Golden, So What Else is New 16.

¹¹⁵Harry Golden, letters to Agent in Charge FBI, 17 Mar. 1959 and 30 Aug. 1962, Box 7 File 11, Harry Golden Collection Part II, U of North Carolina at Charlotte.

¹¹⁶Harry Golden, "Hate Mail," Carolina Israelite July/Aug. 1962: 8.

¹¹⁷Golden, "Hate Mail" 8; Golden, Ess, Ess, Mein Kindt 217.

¹¹⁸Anonymous post card to Harry Golden, 4 Aug. 1961, Box 2 File 12, Harry Golden Collection Part II, U of North Carolina at Charlotte.

¹¹⁹Golden, "Hate Mail" 8.

¹²⁰Golden, The Right Time 309-311. Golden later made up the loss of local advertising through his book royalties, lecture fees, outside advertising, and national circulation.

¹²¹Harry Golden, letter to Agent in Charge FBI, 30 Aug. 1962, Box 7 File 11, Harry Golden Collection Part II, U of North Carolina at Charlotte.

¹²²Golden Ess, Ess, Mein Kindt 218.

¹²³Golden, "Hate Mail" 8.

¹²⁴Golden, The Right Time 265.

¹²⁵Golden, Only in America 16; See Chapter 5 of this study for a discussion of Golden's views on southern Jewry and black civil rights.

¹²⁶Golden, The Right Time 264; Golden was also attacked by the Jewish publication Commentary. He was accused of superficial advocacy. See Theodore Solotaroff, "Harry Golden and the American Audience," Commentary Jan. 1961: 1-13; Harold Ribalow, "Commentary vs. Harry Golden," Congress Bi-Weekly 13 Feb. 1961: 9-11.

¹²⁷Golden, The Right Time 265.

¹²⁸Golden, So What Else is New? 79.

¹²⁹Golden, The Right Time 266.

¹³⁰Golden, The Right Time 266-267.

¹³¹See Chapter 7 of this study for a discussion of the influence and impact of Golden's civil rights advocacy.

¹³²William Goldhurst, personal interview, 30 March 1990.

¹³³Golden, The Right Time 357, 362; Harry Golden, "Johnny Carson Show," Carolina Israelite May/June 1965: 1.

¹³⁴Anonymous letter to World Publishing Company, 13 Sept. 1958, Box 32 File 285, Harry Golden Collection Part I, University of North Carolina, Charlotte.

¹³⁵Golden, For 2 Cents Plain 19; The Right Time 348.

¹³⁶Golden, The Right Time 348.

¹³⁷Judith Crist, "Golden, Best Seller Author, Reveals His Prison Past," New York Herald Tribune 18 Sept. 1958: 1, 11.

¹³⁸Golden, For 2 Cents Plain 19.

¹³⁹Golden, The Right Time 350.

¹⁴⁰Max Lerner, "The Secret Place," New York Post 21 Sept. 1958: M8; Also see "The Golden Story," Time 29 Sept. 1958: 72.

¹⁴¹See Chapter 5 of this study for a discussion of the civil rights movement.

¹⁴²David Garrow, Bearing the Cross: Martin Luther King, Jr. and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (New York: Vintage, 1988) 475.

¹⁴³Golden, "Goodbye" 2.

¹⁴⁴Golden, "Goodbye" 2.

¹⁴⁵Harry Golden, "Black Power," Carolina Israelite July/Aug. 1966: 2; Harry Golden, "What is Black Power?" Carolina Israelite Nov./Dec. 1966: 10-11; Golden, The Right

Time 395; Gus Solomon, The Jewish Role in the American Civil Rights Movement (London: The World Jewish Congress, 1967) 24.

¹⁴⁶Golden, So Long as You're Healthy 143.

¹⁴⁷Golden, "What is Black Power" 11.

¹⁴⁸Golden, "Black Power" 2.

¹⁴⁹See Chapter 7 for a discussion of the relationship between Golden, the Kennedys, and Martin Luther King, Jr.

¹⁵⁰Golden, So Long as You're Healthy 164.

¹⁵¹Golden, The Right Time 15.

¹⁵²Golden, "Goodbye" 1; Douglas Robinson, "Harry Golden: On Things Remembered," New York Times 26 Feb. 1968: 36.

¹⁵³Anita Brown, telephone interview, 6 June 1990.

CHAPTER 7
THE APPEAL AND SIGNIFICANCE OF GOLDEN AND
THE CAROLINA ISRAELITE

Not all of the reaction to Golden's civil rights advocacy through the Israelite took the form of opposition.¹ On the contrary, Golden had a significant positive influence on the civil rights thoughts of varied segments of American society. In addition, his advocacy was appealing to many of the people who had a direct bearing on the course and outcome of the civil rights movement--America's civil rights and governmental leaders.

This chapter examines the appeal and significance of Golden's journalistic civil rights advocacy. The discussion first addresses his interaction with the civil rights community--organizations and leaders. Next, the discussion focuses on the federal government's support and protection of civil rights for blacks and on Golden's interaction with leaders of the Executive, Legislative, and Judicial branches of government. Finally, the institutional recognition of Golden's advocacy is discussed.

Golden and the Civil Rights Community

The Israelite was read by important members of the black civil rights community, many of whom were Golden's friends. In addition, Golden interacted with the civil rights community on a regular basis. His advocacy was appreciated by and had impact on the major civil rights leaders and organizations of the time.

Civil Rights Organizations

Golden's reputation for civil rights advocacy led to various requests for his involvement with civil rights organizations. Both the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) and the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE)² utilized Golden as a speaker at their respective national conventions.³ Golden also served as a consultant to the SCLC. The SCLC sought to incorporate his influence into their various attempts to create "moral pressure"⁴ on the federal government to provide more support--legislation, executive orders--for the civil rights struggle. Out of gratitude for his involvement, the SCLC once wrote to Golden, "We are grateful for the part you are playing in the freedom movement."⁵

Golden's involvement also extended to other civil rights organizations. He was an advisor to the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC). He was also a life member of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP).⁶

As a SNCC member, Golden counseled college students on the use of nonviolent protest. He also allowed his home and the Israelite offices to be used as a rest stop for students and other civil rights workers on their way to and from protests in the South. As a NAACP member, he was regularly asked to serve on various panels and committees in order to elaborate on his views concerning racial understanding and equality.⁷

Civil Rights Leaders

Golden's advocacy through the Israelite also appealed to major civil rights leaders. A. Phillip Randolph was a reader of the Israelite. He also served with Golden and others on a White House Conference on civil rights during the Kennedy administration. As one aware of Golden's advocacy, Randolph frequently enlisted Golden's assistance in various civil rights causes.⁸

On one such occasion, Randolph sought Golden's assistance in publicizing the work of a newly formed organization, the Alabama Legal Defense Committee. The organization had been formed to provide legal assistance for blacks and other civil rights workers jailed in Mobile and Montgomery, Alabama. Golden agreed to serve on an advisory board of the committee. He also promised to write an article about the committee's work.⁹

Former NAACP Executive Director Roy Wilkins was also a reader of the Israelite. He appreciated Golden's work on behalf of blacks.¹⁰ According to Wilkins:

Harry Golden has succeeded in attacking the irrationality of racial discrimination with withering scorn which has had lasting effect. Few men have been able to effectively expose human foibles, while showing that they truly care for mankind. . . . He is a consummate humorist, a perceptive social critic, who during his full and uncommonly rich lifetime has become a new kind of protagonist for justice in our complicated society.¹¹

Martin Luther King, Jr.--the acknowledged leader of the civil rights movement¹²--was a reader of the Israelite and held a "special affection"¹³ for Golden and his advocacy. King considered Golden a committed contributor to the civil rights movement. Highly indicative of Golden's significance to the civil rights movement are comments made by King while incarcerated during the SCLC's Birmingham campaign.¹⁴

In King's "Letter from Birmingham City Jail" he responded to a critical joint statement made by a group of prominent white Alabama clergymen--Catholic, Protestant, Jewish. The clergymen questioned the use and timing of the SCLC demonstrations. They also accused the demonstrators of being outsiders and urged local blacks not to participate in the protest.¹⁵

In his response, King expressed his dismay at the stand taken by the clergymen. He had previously considered them "white moderates" and "men of genuine good will."¹⁶ King wrote:

I have been gravely disappointed with the white moderate. . . who constantly says "I agree with you and in the goal you seek, but I can't agree with your methods". . . who constantly advises the Negro to wait until a "more convenient season."¹⁷

I have never yet engaged in a direct action movement that was "well timed," according to the timetable of those who have not suffered unduly from the disease of segregation. For years now I have heard the word "Wait!". . . This "wait" has almost always meant "never."¹⁸

We have waited for more than three hundred and forty years for our constitutional and God-given rights.¹⁹

King went on to qualify his views on whites and the civil rights movement. In the process he identified Golden as one of four whites whom he believed were significant contributors to the fight for civil rights. According to King:

I am thankful that some of our white brothers have grasped the meaning of this social revolution and committed themselves to it.²⁰

They are still too small in quantity, but they are big in quality. Some like Ralph McGill, Lillian Smith, Harry Golden, and James Dabbs have written about our struggle in eloquent, prophetic, and understanding terms.²¹

[T]hey have recognized the urgency of the moment and sensed the need for powerful "action" antidotes to combat the disease of segregation.²²

King's belief in Golden's commitment to the fight for civil rights is also exemplified by the following. Upon King's selection for the Nobel Peace Prize in 1964, he decided to donate \$25,000 of the cash prize to the civil rights movement. King sought to use the funds to help increase black voter registration, provide educational opportunity for leadership training in nonviolence, and promote public awareness of racial violence and brutality.²³

In order to accomplish these goals, King formed a new organization--the American Foundation on Nonviolence--to supervise the implementation of his ideas. King asked Golden to serve on the Board of Directors of the Foundation. Golden accepted King's invitation and served in the company of other distinguished members such as Ralph David Abernathy, Benjamin Hooks, Joseph Lowery, A. Phillip Randolph, and Andrew Young.²⁴

King and Golden continued to correspond until King's assassination.²⁵ Golden was saddened by the death. He noted, "It is a sad day for the world and a sadder day for Americans."²⁶ He also commented, "Martin Luther King's life was too short, but it made ours fuller."²⁷

As discussed, although the Israelite was not specifically targeted at blacks,²⁸ members and leaders of the major civil rights organizations²⁹ welcomed Golden as an ally. The black civil rights community not only appreciated his civil rights advocacy, they sought his advice and participation in matters such as attempts to place "moral pressure" on the federal government for assistance. The role of the federal government in the civil rights movement and Golden's interaction with leaders in the federal government are discussed in the following section.

Golden and the Federal Government

Harry Golden as an individual cannot be credited with the direct actions of the federal government on behalf of securing and protecting civil rights for blacks. However, Golden was a facilitator who, through the press, actively contributed to the collective "push" of the movement for correction of racial inequality. Many of the governmental

leaders--Judicial, Executive, Legislative,--who were in positions to influence governmental response and action concerning civil rights were likewise positively influenced by Golden's journalistic civil rights advocacy. Such leaders found Golden's advocacy appealing and enlightening.

The Judicial Branch

The United States Supreme Court's decision in Brown v. Board of Education³⁰ not only found separate-but-equal schools unconstitutional, it undermined institutionalized segregation. The practice of segregation suffered further damage and the civil rights movement gained significant momentum based on another Supreme Court decision. In 1956, during the midst of the Montgomery, Alabama bus boycott,³¹ the Supreme Court ruled that segregation on public bus systems was illegal.³² The Court's ruling gave the budding civil rights movement one of its earliest victories. Likewise, the victory provided impetus for movement leaders and organizations to advance toward the manifold battles ahead.³³

Several Supreme Court Justices read the Israelite. For example, Chief Justice Earl Warren, Justice Felix Frankfurter, and Justice Arthur Goldberg were among Golden's

readers.³⁴ In addition, Justices William O. Douglas and Hugo Black both read the Israelite and maintained close friendships with Golden. Black and Golden visited each other³⁵ and wrote frequently. On one such occasion, Black commented on Golden's writing style. He noted, "I have always marveled at your pithy method of saying a lot with a few words."³⁶ On another occasion, Black expressed concern about Golden's well-being.³⁷ He wrote, "I had not heard from you in so long that I was wondering how things were going with you."³⁸

Black and Golden also corresponded about busing and neighborhood schools. Black informed Golden that the presence of neighborhood school cases before the Court prevented his specific discussion of the subject.³⁹

However, Black did provide Golden with general thoughts on the pros and cons of neighborhood schools:

I attended neighborhood schools. . . . I had to go to neighborhood schools at that time or not go to school at all because my parents were not wealthy enough to send me away to non neighborhood private schools. The concept of neighborhood schools of course involves some things that are good and some that are not, just as most everything else in this world does. My father walked five miles to get to his nearest neighborhood school but even back then I would say that he was subjected to fewer hazards than are many children in our teeming cities today [in the late 1960s].⁴⁰

Douglas considered Golden an "accomplished journalist, a serious social historian,"⁴¹ and a "friend who espoused

desegregation of the races."⁴² Douglas believed that Golden's writing was "spiced with witty observations that cut through prejudices, hypocrisy, and bigotry."⁴³ He also believed that the Israelite made a "great contribution over the years."⁴⁴ According to Douglas, Golden searched for the common bond among people and aimed his writing only at people who used "power, arrogance, position, or influence to downgrade others or to relegate them to second-class citizenship."⁴⁵ Douglas was inspired by Golden. Likewise, Golden enjoyed urging judicial leaders such as Douglas and Black to fight against racism.⁴⁶

The Executive Branch

Several United States Presidents supported the civil rights struggle in different ways. In September of 1957, President Dwight D. Eisenhower authorized the use of federal military troops to maintain the peace and protect black high school students during the implementation of school desegregation plans in Little Rock, Arkansas. President John F. Kennedy also approved the use of federal troops to assist in the peaceful integration of the University of Mississippi in 1962 and the University of Alabama in 1963. Presidents Kennedy and Lyndon B. Johnson also supported the

movement by using federal troops to quell violence against civil right demonstrators. In May of 1963, Kennedy dispatched soldiers to Birmingham, Alabama in response to bombings and violence surrounding the SCLC's Birmingham campaign. Similarly, in March of 1965, Johnson used federal troops to protect demonstrators in the Selma to Montgomery march.⁴⁷

Kennedy and Johnson also supported the movement in other ways. Kennedy not only had his Attorney General, Robert F. Kennedy, and the Justice Department vigorously litigate civil rights cases,⁴⁸ he also proposed the enactment of civil rights legislation.⁴⁹ After Kennedy's assassination in 1963, Johnson continued in his footsteps by signing the Civil Rights Act of 1964⁵⁰ and proposing and signing the Voting Rights Act of 1965.⁵¹ On the occasion of his proposal of the Voting Rights Act, Johnson voiced his concern for civil rights and stressed the need for such legislation before a joint session of Congress. He concluded his comments with the slogan of the movement, "We Shall Overcome."⁵²

Golden's journalistic civil rights advocacy led to his recognition by several United States Presidents. His advocacy was appealing to them and members of their administrations. In addition, he was personally held in

high esteem by these Presidents. Although Golden briefly corresponded with Harry Truman and Dwight Eisenhower in the early days of the Israelite, he did not establish a regular civil rights dialogue with a President until the Kennedy administration.⁵³

President Kennedy was a reader of the Israelite and a personal friend of Golden.⁵⁴ Golden corresponded, consulted, and visited with Kennedy both prior to and during Kennedy's Presidency.⁵⁵ Kennedy was well aware of and appreciated Golden's civil rights advocacy. Similarly, Golden considered Kennedy "exceptionally well informed on the race issue."⁵⁶ Golden also considered Kennedy "An emancipator of civil rights President" who was "committed to the social revolution of the American Negro."⁵⁷

In addition to Golden's visits and correspondence with Kennedy, on at least two occasions Kennedy enlisted Golden's assistance in matters concerning civil rights. As a Senator from Massachusetts, Kennedy invited Golden to serve on an Advisory Committee of the Democratic Advisory Council in order to implement the civil rights proposals of the Democratic platform.⁵⁸ As President of the United States, Kennedy invited Golden to participate in a White House civil rights conference. According to Kennedy, the conference was designed to "help the American Negro fulfill the rights

which, after the long time of injustice, he is finally about to secure."⁵⁹ Golden participated in the event along with civil rights leaders such as Martin Luther King, Jr., A. Phillip Randolph, Roy Wilkins, Whitney Young, and Vernon Jordan.⁶⁰

Kennedy's Attorney General and brother, Robert F. Kennedy, was also a reader of the Israelite and a close personal friend of Golden.⁶¹ Robert Kennedy and Golden communicated regularly about the civil rights movement and visited each other often.⁶² Kennedy's respect for Golden's civil rights advocacy led him to reveal to Golden "I have always been a great admirer of yours and what you have stood for."⁶³ Similarly, Golden was "fascinated"⁶⁴ by the civil rights work of Kennedy. According to Golden, when Kennedy encountered the wrongs of the South, he became outraged and took steps to make things better.⁶⁵

Lyndon B. Johnson was a reader of the Israelite while a Senator from Texas, as John Kennedy's Vice President, and as President of the United States. Johnson's familiarity with Golden's advocacy eventually led to correspondence between them. On occasion Johnson sought and utilized Golden's consultation.⁶⁶ During Johnson's "War on Poverty," he asked Golden for ideas on the topic. In his comments to Johnson, Golden addressed poverty as "a problem for millions of

Americans of all races, creeds, and political loyalties and inclinations."⁶⁷ However, Golden argued that the problem of poverty was of special consequence to blacks. He commented:

[F]or nearly a century we [whites] proved we had the power to annul the Negro's simple human dignity. We have it in our power to withdraw the remnant of authority, particularly in housing, which still disallows the Negro's full participation in American civilization.⁶⁸

Johnson contended that he shared Golden's views and would use them in the "War on Poverty."⁶⁹

Johnson's Vice President, Hubert H. Humphrey, was also a long-time reader of the Israelite and friend of Golden. Humphrey considered Golden "a continuing source of renewed strength."⁷⁰ In addition, Humphrey was a self-professed "member of the Harry Golden Fan Club."⁷¹

Humphrey and Golden began corresponding with one another while Humphrey was a Senator from Minnesota.⁷² They also visited each other. Humphrey held Golden in such high esteem that he once wrote to Golden:

Please let me know when you are going to be in Washington. There is so little time between the pressures of Congressional and constituent demands for friends. But I would leave the floor and even a dozen Minnesotans at anytime to see you.⁷³

The two men frequently exchanged opinions and ideas on the civil rights struggle.⁷⁴ On one such occasion, Humphrey informed Golden of his attempts to "provide federal voting registrars in areas where Negroes are denied the right to

vote."⁷⁵ On another occasion, Humphrey commented to Golden,

"Our dream of a better America is going to be fulfilled."⁷⁶

Humphrey also occasionally requested civil rights information and opinions from Golden, in addition to Golden's views expressed in the Israelite, for use in his political or governmental work. Subsequently, Golden provided Humphrey with civil rights background and research material for use in various Humphrey proposals and speeches.⁷⁷

Golden's reputation as a journalistic civil rights advocate continued to live after the closing of the Israelite and led to the admiration of post-Israelite Presidents and members of their administrations. President Richard M. Nixon considered Golden a civil rights activist and "a man whose candor, courage, and compassion have exposed unquestioned fallacies in people's thinking and improved relations between black and white Americans."⁷⁸ Nixon's Vice President, Gerald R. Ford, was also a reader of the Israelite while he was a Congressman from Michigan.⁷⁹

President Jimmy Carter was also familiar with Golden's advocacy. In addition, Carter's Vice President, Walter F. Mondale, considered Golden a friend and held him in high esteem.⁸⁰ Mondale once wrote to Golden:

[F]or years I have admired you--not only for the warmth and joy of your writing, but even more for the values you have unashamedly affirmed throughout a lifetime of moral courage and social action.⁸¹

The Legislative Branch

Congress provided support for the movement by enacting various civil rights legislation between 1957 and 1968. This legislation collectively brought blacks much closer to their goal of civil rights. The Civil Rights Act of 1957 was the first federal civil rights legislation enacted during the modern movement. The major provision of the Act was the establishment of a Commission on Civil Rights. The six-member Presidentially appointed commission was empowered to investigate and report on allegations of the denial of voting rights based on color, race, religion, or national origin. The 1957 Act also prohibited any person from interfering with another person's right to vote. In addition, the Act enabled the United States Attorney General to use preventive civil actions--injunctions, restraining orders--against people who were proved very likely to attempt to deprive others of their right to vote.⁸²

With the Civil Rights Act of 1960, Congress responded to the rash of bombings that targeted members of the civil

rights movement. The Act prohibited transporting, using, or possessing explosives for the purpose of interfering with the use of buildings or property for educational, religious, charitable, residential, business, or civic objectives. The Act also required that all records relating to voter registration applications be retained and preserved by election officials for 21 months. In addition, the 1960 Act provided for court-appointed voting referees who could determine if an individual was qualified to vote based on state requirements, including literacy testing. Congress enacted its most comprehensive civil rights legislation through the Civil Rights Act of 1964. It addressed voting rights in federal elections by requiring the criteria used to determine voter qualifications to be the same for all potential voters. The Act also restricted the use of literacy tests and prohibited denial of voting rights based on paperwork errors or omissions that were not material in determining an individual's qualifications. A major provision of the Act prohibited discrimination or segregation in public accommodations--hotels, restaurants, theaters--based on race, color, religion, or national origin.⁸³

Another major provision of the Act prohibited employers from discriminating based on race, color, religion, sex, or

national origin when hiring, promoting, and firing, or when selecting participants for job training programs. The same provision prohibited employment agencies and labor organizations from discriminating based on the aforementioned factors in job referrals and membership selection respectively. The Act also established an Equal Employment Opportunity Commission to furnish assistance to employers, employees, and potential employees concerning equal employment opportunity (EEO) laws.⁸⁴

Congress enacted the Voting Rights Act of 1965 to provide additional and substantial support of black voting rights. The major provision of the Act included the prohibition of voter registration tests--reading, writing, interpretation--and poll taxes in all local, state, and federal elections. The Act also provided for court-appointed voting examiners who were empowered to screen and certify individuals as qualified voters based on state laws, providing those laws were not inconsistent with the U.S. Constitution and laws.⁸⁵ The Congress continued to expand legislative support of civil rights through the Civil Rights Act of 1968. A major provision of the Act outlawed discrimination based on race, color, religion, or national origin in the selling, renting, terms of selling or renting, and financing of real estate.⁸⁶

Golden's journalistic civil rights advocacy was well known throughout the halls of the United States Senate and House of Representatives. The Israelite was read by numerous Senators and Representatives, both Democrats and Republicans. Golden also corresponded with members of the national legislature regularly. In addition, Golden's reputation as a civil rights advocate often led to the inclusion of Israelite editorials and comments about his advocacy in the Congressional Record. Golden was also occasionally requested to testify about civil rights before Senate and House committees.

Senate interaction. Senator Edward Kennedy of Massachusetts, like his brothers President John F. Kennedy and Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy, was a reader of the Israelite and a friend of Golden.⁸⁷ Edward Kennedy believed that Golden was dedicated to "efforts on behalf of others."⁸⁸ Kennedy and Golden visited and often corresponded with one another concerning civil rights.⁸⁹ In one such correspondence, Kennedy informed Golden, "I agree with your belief that racism can be ended through compassion for our fellow man."⁹⁰

Senator George McGovern of South Dakota was also a reader of the Israelite, a friend to Golden, and an "admirer" of Golden's journalistic talents.⁹¹ According to

McGovern, Golden had a "burning impatience with injustice"⁹²

which led him to fight for first-class citizenship of blacks. McGovern continued:

[H]e [Golden] has helped to change our country, our Constitution, and our concept of social justice for the millions who have carried the burden of discrimination against their color. He has been. . . a worker in the struggle to make our land and our lives equal to our ideals.⁹³

Other Senators also read the Israelite and held Golden in high esteem. Senator Thomas Kuchel of California considered Golden a "good man" and encouraged Golden to visit him in Washington.⁹⁴ Senator Edmund S. Muskie of Maine enjoyed reading the Israelite and considered Golden a man of "stature."⁹⁵ Muskie once wrote to Golden, "Your analysis of the problems of the American Negro especially interest me. I feel that there are obvious merits to your arguments."⁹⁶

In addition, Golden and the Israelite had a geographically broad following in the Senate. Most of these Senators corresponded with Golden and considered him a friend. They included, but were not limited to: Gale McGee of Wyoming, Ernest Hollings of South Carolina, Ralph Yarborough of Texas, Philip Hart of Michigan, Howard Baker of Tennessee, Frank Church of Idaho, William Fulbright of Arkansas, Claiborne Pell of Rhode Island, Ernest Gruening of Alaska, Joseph Clark and Hugh Scott of Pennsylvania, Eugene McCarthy of Minnesota, Thomas Dodd of Connecticut,

Thomas Eagleton of Missouri, Vance Hartke of Indiana, and Jacob Javits of New York.⁹⁷

Golden's reputation as a journalistic civil rights advocate and the esteem in which he was held by members of the Senate led to a formal request for his insight into race relations and the plight of blacks. In 1966, during a time of race riots,⁹⁸ Senator Abraham Ribicoff of Connecticut--Chairman of the Senate Subcommittee on Executive Reorganization of the Committee on Government Operations--requested Golden's "personal views on the crisis of the American city."⁹⁹ Ribicoff wrote to Golden, "We believe you can make a significant contribution to the understanding of urban problems."¹⁰⁰ Golden readily accepted the invitation¹⁰¹ and took the opportunity to provide the Subcommittee with his perspective on the plight of many blacks in urban settings.

Golden informed the Subcommittee that America had "wronged the Negro."¹⁰² According to Golden, many blacks were hopelessly trapped in urban ghettos. He argued that political, educational, social, and economic discrimination had locked them in. He also pointed out racism as the root of such discrimination. Golden commented that cities across America rested on "smoldering volcanoes" because of the frustration and hopelessness caused by racism.¹⁰³ He

suggested that the federal government fight poverty and ensure black civil rights in order to remedy the situation.¹⁰⁴ He also recommended a cooperative effort between the government and business sectors in providing educational employment opportunity for blacks. He contended that such a cooperation could "break down the walls of the ghettos."¹⁰⁵

Golden's journalistic advocacy and the admiration of members of the Senate also led to the inclusion of information about Harry Golden in the Congressional Record on several occasions. In June of 1964, Senator Harrison Williams of New Jersey entered the following comments about Golden in the Record:

[O]ur most pressing social problems usually become less pressing when we establish even basic communication among those who are in disagreement.¹⁰⁶

Harry Golden is one of those in our Nation today who is trying to increase communication in the struggle to give full citizenship to all of our citizens.¹⁰⁷

In October of 1964, Senator Philip Hart of Michigan also entered comments about Golden in the Record:

Harry Golden discusses the subjects of race and immigration in the interesting perspective fashion which is his and which has influenced, for good, many of the public debates and decisions in this country. He treats the subject in a most unusual but penetrating way.¹⁰⁸

Hart entered additional comments about Golden in the Record during February of 1965. He encouraged his colleagues to read Golden, commenting:

[I]n the weeks and months ahead we shall discuss and debate in this chamber the role which the Federal Government should play in broadening educational opportunities for all Americans. I hope all Senators will have an opportunity to read the brief and vivid comment recently penned by a distinguished citizen of North Carolina, Harry Golden.¹⁰⁹

[H]e has described, effectively, the place education must hold if our society is to become the great one which each of us prays it will.¹¹⁰

Hart then entered Golden's statement on the "War on Poverty" into the Record. Golden's comments reflected his commitment to black civil rights and stressed "the poverty of the Negro" was "acute" and education was "the only answer."¹¹¹

Golden's advocacy and relationship with members of the Senate not only promoted thought and discussion about civil rights, it also fostered concern among some Senators about Golden's well-being. Senator James Murray of Montana illustrated this concern for Golden and his journalistic civil rights advocacy when part of Golden's Israelite offices were destroyed by fire.¹¹² During that time Murray entered news of the fire and his opinion of Golden in the Record:

One of the most remarkable journalists in the land is Mr. Harry Golden, who publishes the Carolina Israelite in Charlotte, N.C. Mr. Golden is a learned man with a sense of humor. He has the

ability to make Americans think and, at the same time, chuckle. Unfortunately, a fire recently destroyed his office, vast collection of books and personal treasures, and a portion of his subscription list. But fortunately, the Carolina Israelite will continue publication.¹¹³

House of Representatives interaction. Golden's journalistic civil rights advocacy also led to his recognition by members of the House. As with the Senate, Golden made friends with many Representatives and corresponded with them concerning civil rights. For example, Representative Charles Jonas of North Carolina was a reader of the Israelite and shared a "cordial friendship" with Golden.¹¹⁴ He admired Golden's approach to civil rights advocacy. According to Jonas:

Harry's voice was always a quiet one. And it was a voice spiced with humor. Who will forget the days of bitter controversy when there suddenly burst upon the scene the Golden plan of vertical integration?¹¹⁵

Other Representatives also appreciated Golden's advocacy. Donald Fraser of Minnesota found Golden's insight into segregation valuable.¹¹⁶ Barrat O'Hara of Illinois "appreciated the Israelite and received a great deal of enjoyment while reading it."¹¹⁷ A.W. Joslyn of Idaho wrote Golden, "Your newspaper is very good and I am enclosing a check for a subscription."¹¹⁸ Nick Galifianakis of North Carolina wrote, "I have always been an admirer of yours."¹¹⁹

In addition, the Israelite was read by a broad cross section of Representatives, most of whom corresponded with Golden. Among others, they included: Seymour Halpern, Leonard Farbstein, Steven Derounian, Emanuel Celler, Herbert Zelenko, Edward Koch, and Elizabeth Holtzman of New York; James Broyhill, Earl Ruth, Roy Taylor, and Horace Kornegay of North Carolina; Robert Drinan and Michael Harrington of Massachusetts; Melvin Laird of Wisconsin; Rogers Morton of Maryland; Clark MacGregor of Minnesota; John Culver of Iowa; and William Anderson of Tennessee.¹²⁰

As with the Senate, Golden's reputation as a journalistic civil rights advocate, as well as the esteem held for Golden by the members of the House,¹²¹ led to a formal request for the sharing of his insight to a House Subcommittee. Although the Israelite had been closed for four years, in 1972 Golden was asked to comment on busing and school integration before the House Committee on the Judiciary.¹²² Among Golden's comments he noted:

[B]using is not the issue at all. Segregation is the issue. Busing is a fact of life. . . . For years hundreds of Negro pupils were bussed past the white schools to their segregated Negro schools and no one protested. So the issue is not whether pupils would be bussed but which schools they would attend. . . . The interesting aspect about busing is that folks who are against it always start their argument with, "I am not a racist, but. . ." The simple truth is that they do not want their children in school with black children. . . . What is the solution? Law is the solution! The South has overcome much more

volatile controversies than busing. . . . Law did it. . . . Law doesn't change the hearts of men, but it changes their practices. Morals follow the Law.¹²³

Representative Ogden Reid of New York later wrote to Golden, "Your statement before the Committee on the Judiciary was just excellent."¹²⁴

As was the case in the Senate, Golden's advocacy and the admiration of members of the House led to the inclusion of his opinions in the Congressional Record on several occasions. On one such occasion an Israelite reader, Representative Charles Diggs of Michigan, entered the complete text of Golden's Out-of-Order Plan¹²⁵ in the Record.¹²⁶ Later, when the Out-of-Order Plan was actually utilized in North Carolina¹²⁷ another Israelite reader, Representative James Roosevelt of California, entered a discussion of such use in the Record:

Mr. Harry Golden's solutions to some of the problems of the South are not unknown to many of my colleagues. As editor and publisher of the Carolina Israelite, Mr. Golden has his own unique forum for the presentation of such schemes as his Out-of-Order Plan.¹²⁸

Roosevelt also entered the text of an Israelite article, describing the use of the plan, in the Record.¹²⁹

Diggs was also responsible for entering Golden's White Baby Plan¹³⁰ in the Record. Prior to placing the plan in

the Record, Diggs commented on the significance of Golden's satire:

Mr. Golden's humorous yet pointed remarks illustrate clearly the ludicrous conclusions which can be reached by founding arguments on the false premise of racial superiority.¹³¹

Representative Charles Weltner of Georgia entered a letter from Golden in the Record.¹³² In the letter Golden expressed his views on the unfulfillment of the "American Dream" for blacks. Golden wrote to Weltner:

[T]he American dream is the opportunity of entering the open society. . . . There are twenty-four million "strangers" wanting in to the open society. . . . These twenty-four million "strangers" have curiously lived in America longer than most of the population. . . . These strangers are the American Negroes.¹³³

The appeal of Golden and his journalistic civil rights advocacy led to admiration by the leaders of the Judicial, Executive, and Legislative branches of the federal government. In addition, his advocacy was also appealing to members of other federal government segments. The following section discusses Golden's appeal to such segments.

Other Segments of Government

Golden was also read and admired by officials of numerous and varied other segments--departments, agencies, commissions--of the federal government. Federal

Communications Commission Chairman Newton Minow read the Israelite, corresponded with Golden, and considered him a friend.¹³⁴ On one occasion Minow wrote to Golden, "Your current issue [of the Israelite] is again a delight."¹³⁵

John Buggs, Staff Director of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, also held Golden in high esteem. He considered Golden a "prominent"¹³⁶ civil rights advocate. As a result, Buggs selected Golden as a person whose "experiences, perceptions, and opinions" would be of "utmost value"¹³⁷ in the Commission's twenty-year assessment of the impact of Brown v. Board of Education¹³⁸ on "the entire field of civil rights."¹³⁹ Golden also corresponded with officials in numerous other segments of the government including the Department of Commerce, Department of Health Education and Welfare, Department of State, and the Department of Justice. In addition, he maintained contact with the U.S. Information Agency.¹⁴⁰

Institutional Recognition

Golden and the Israelite appealed to a broad cross section of the American public--young and old, black and white, Jews and gentiles, southerners and northerners.¹⁴¹ At one point in the late 1950s, the paper reached over

50,000 readers in 49 American states and 33 foreign countries.¹⁴² Some of Golden's readers even formed a Harry Golden Fan Club.¹⁴³ His civil rights advocacy was also praised by a variety of segments and institutions in American society. The following examination of the numerous awards and honors received by Golden illustrates the esteem in which he was held.

Educational Honors

Golden received honorary doctoral degrees from a diverse group of colleges because of his work as a humanitarian. Belmont Abbey College, a Catholic institution, presented Golden with such a degree in 1962. In 1965, Johnson C. Smith University, a predominantly black institution, presented Golden with an honorary doctorate. Thiel College, a Lutheran institution, presented Golden with a doctoral degree in 1974. In addition, the University of North Carolina at Charlotte, a predominantly white institution, presented Golden with a doctorate in 1977.¹⁴⁴

Golden also received other honors from colleges and universities. In 1955, Carver College, a predominantly black institution, honored Golden by awarding him a citation for improving race relations in the South. The University

of North Carolina at Charlotte honored Golden by declaring May 7, 1969 as Harry Golden Day. The university sought to praise Golden for his scholarship and social conscience.¹⁴⁵

According to the proclamation:

[H]e [Golden] made us face vexing and explosive problems, he also helped us find the humor in them and has persuaded us that reconciliation is ultimately possible.¹⁴⁶

The university also established a Harry Golden lectureship as a tribute to Golden. The lectureship was designed to serve as a permanent series of presentations on Golden's career and interests.¹⁴⁷

In 1983, Golden received posthumous praise for his civil rights advocacy from the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. At that time, the University's School of Journalism inducted Golden into the North Carolina Journalism Hall of Fame.¹⁴⁸ He was cited for his civil rights advocacy through the Israelite.¹⁴⁹

Black Organization Honors

Several black organizations--professional, fraternal, civic--honored Golden for his journalistic civil rights advocacy. In 1958, the National Newspaper Publishers Association honored Golden with its Russwurm Award. The award was named for John B. Russwurm, one of the founding

editors of Freedom's Journal, the first black-published newspaper in the United States. Golden was recognized for promoting American ideals and democratic principles.¹⁵⁰

Golden received another award named after a distinguished journalistic advocate of racial equality in 1964. At that time, the Elks Grand Lodge presented him with their Lovejoy Award. The award was named for Elijah Parish Lovejoy, a journalist who published an anti-slavery publication--the Observer--during the 1830s. Lovejoy was murdered by a mob and his press was destroyed because of his abolitionist views. Golden's acceptance of the award for civil rights advocacy placed him in the company of previous noteworthy recipients such as Martin Luther King, Jr., A. Phillip Randolph, Roy Wilkins, and Thurgood Marshall.¹⁵¹

The Omega Psi Phi fraternity also presented Golden with an award during the 1960s. The fraternity cited Golden for fighting "unyieldingly, uncompromisingly, unabashed, even against the odds" in the battle for "first class citizenship for all people."¹⁵² Golden's civil rights advocacy was also celebrated by blacks after his death. This is exemplified by Golden's posthumous induction into the NAACP Hall of Fame in 1986.¹⁵³ He was praised for his "unchallenged commitment to human and civil rights"¹⁵⁴ and for "dedicating his life to exposing the hypocrisy of segregation and racism in America."¹⁵⁵

Jewish Organization Honors

Several Jewish organizations also celebrated Golden's advocacy and humanitarianism. In 1959, he was designated Man of the Year by the National Federation of Temple Brotherhoods. Golden was praised for his "significant contributions to the American ideals of equality and justice to people of all races and creeds."¹⁵⁶

During the same year, Golden was proclaimed Man of the Year by Agudas and Beth Israel Brotherhoods. He was credited for "Humanitarian interests on behalf of his fellowmen without regard to race, creed, or color."¹⁵⁷

Golden also received an award for "Distinguished Journalism" in 1959 from the American Jewish Committee-Anti Defamation League.¹⁵⁸ In addition, he received the Grand Master Award of the Brith Abraham organization for his "fight against injustice."¹⁵⁹ The 1960 award cited Golden for upholding the dignity of man and aiding the less fortunate.¹⁶⁰

Southern and Northern Honors

Golden's advocacy brought him acclaim from the South and the North, as exemplified by the following. In 1957, Governor Luther Hodges of North Carolina awarded Golden the

title of Ambassador of Goodwill for North Carolina. By 1979, Governor James Hunt of North Carolina awarded Golden the North Carolina Award in Literature, the state's highest honor for a writer. Golden was recognized for improving the lives of people everywhere by using his journalism to reduce injustice and support humanitarian causes.¹⁶¹

Golden's journalistic advocacy was also appreciated in the North. Upon his death in 1981, the City Council of Chicago, Illinois adopted a resolution in his honor. The City Council proclaimed Golden an "anti-racist crusader." They praised him for his efforts on behalf of civil rights and equality and expressed regret at his death.¹⁶²

Other Honors

Golden's advocacy was also acclaimed by a variety of other organizations representing different segments of America. For example, in 1959, one of Golden's childhood schools--Public School 20 in New York City--presented him with a citation. The school recognized him for "carrying the torch to light the way to an America truly united without regard to race, color, religion, or national origin."¹⁶³ Another example of the diversity among groups honoring Golden's advocacy and humanitarianism was an award

from the Old North State Medical Society. In 1965, the society recognized Golden for "exceptional contributions to human relations."¹⁶⁴

Praise for Golden's civil rights advocacy also took a different form from awards. Golden was held in high esteem by many authors who wrote about the civil rights movement. Subsequently, he has been cited in numerous such publications. For example, Thomas R. Brooks, in Walls Come Tumbling Down: A History of the Civil Rights Movement, refers to Golden's Vertical Negro and Out-of-Order Plans to illustrate the "ludicrous Patchwork" of segregation.¹⁶⁵

Similarly, Robert Penn Warren in Who Speaks for the Negro refers to Golden in an analysis of "the people who are making the Negro revolution what it is."¹⁶⁶ Bradford Daniels, in Black, White, and Gray: Twenty One Points of View on the Race Question also includes Golden's views on civil rights.¹⁶⁷ In addition, Taylor Branch in Parting the Waters: America in the King Years 1954-1963¹⁶⁸ and Calder Pickett in Voices of the Past: Key Documents in the History of American Journalism¹⁶⁹ both cite works of Golden.

Golden's friends and fellow journalistic civil rights advocates, Harry Ashmore and Ralph McGill, also included comments about Golden's advocacy in their books Hearts and

Minds and No Place to Hide: The South and Human Rights, respectively.¹⁷⁰

As presented in this chapter, various segments of the American public were familiar with Golden's advocacy. Subsequently, his work was highly praised. In addition, his journalistic civil rights advocacy was appealing to influential citizens--government and civil rights leaders.

Notes

¹See Chapter 6 of this study for a discussion of opposition to Golden and the Carolina Israelite.

²See Chapter 3 of this study for a discussion of the SCLC and CORE.

³C.T. Vivian, letter to Harry Golden, 8 Oct. 1964, Box 9 File 5, Harry Golden Collection Part II, U of North Carolina at Charlotte; James Farmer, letter to Harry Golden, 9 July 1962, Box 19 File 30, Harry Golden Collection Part II, U of North Carolina at Charlotte.

⁴Wyatt Tee Walker, letter to Harry Golden, 2 July 1962, Box 32 File 686, Harry Golden Collection Part I, U of North Carolina at Charlotte; Wyatt Tee Walker, letter to Harry Golden, 6 Nov. 1963, Box 19 File 5, Harry Golden Collection Part II, U of North Carolina at Charlotte.

⁵Vivian, letter to Harry Golden, 8 Oct. 1964.

⁶Edward King, letter to Harry Golden, 13 April 1961, Box 19 File 30, Harry Golden Collection Part II, U of North Carolina at Charlotte. Golden resigned from SNCC in 1967, after the organization's leadership began to support black militancy. Golden believed that the new direction of SNCC was anti-semitic and made a "mockery" of nonviolence. See Harry Golden, letter to Rolfe Featherstone, 18 Aug. 1967,

Box 9 File 30, Harry Golden Collection Part II, U of North Carolina at Charlotte; See Chapter 3 of this study for a discussion of SNCC; Mildred Bond, letters to Harry Golden, May 1959 and 8 Sept. 1960, Box 14 File 1, Harry Golden Collection Part II, U of North Carolina at Charlotte; Roy Wilkins, letters to Harry Golden, 6 Feb. 1961 and 11 May 1963, Box 14 File 1, Harry Golden Collection Part II, U of North Carolina at Charlotte.

⁷Edward King, letter to Harry Golden, 13 April 1961; Harry Golden, "1312 Elizabeth Avenue," Carolina Israelite Sept./Oct. 1962: 6; Ralph Bunche, letters to Harry Golden, 18 Mar. 1964 and 30 Mar. 1964, Box 14 File 1, Harry Golden Collection Part II, U of North Carolina at Charlotte; Alfred Baker Lewis, letter to Harry Golden, 14 Feb. 1962, Box 14 File 1, Harry Golden Collection Part II, U of North Carolina at Charlotte; Kelly M. Alexander, letter to Harry Golden, 26 Sept. 1960, Box 14 File 1, Harry Golden Collection Part II, U of North Carolina at Charlotte; Harry Golden, "An Hysterical Audience," the Carolina Israelite Jan./Feb. 1962: 12; Harry Golden, Harry Golden Remembers Vanguard, VRS-9102, 1958. See Chapter 3 of this study for a discussion of the NAACP.

⁸See the discussion of Golden and civil rights organizations in this chapter. A. Phillip Randolph, letter to Harry Golden, July 1966, Box 17 File 10, Harry Golden Collection Part II, U of North Carolina at Charlotte. See Executive Branch in the Governmental Leaders section of this chapter for information on the White House Civil Rights Conference; A. Phillip Randolph, letter to Harry Golden, 28 Aug. 1970, Box 17 File 10, Harry Golden Collection Part II, U of North Carolina at Charlotte; Harry Golden, letter to A. Phillip Randolph, 1 Sept. 1979, Box 17 File 10, Harry Golden Collection Part II, U of North Carolina at Charlotte.

⁹A. Phillip Randolph, letter to Harry Golden, 10 Sept. 1963, Box 17 File 10, Harry Golden Collection Part II, U of North Carolina at Charlotte; Harry Golden, letter to A. Phillip Randolph, 24 Sept. 1963, Box 17 File 10, Harry Golden Collection Part II, U of North Carolina at Charlotte.

¹⁰Roy Wilkins, letter to George Abernathy, 16 June 1969, Box 14 File 1, Harry Golden Collection Part II, U of North Carolina at Charlotte; Roy Wilkins, letter to Harry Golden, 13 May 1964, Harry Golden Collection Part II, U of North Carolina at Charlotte.

¹¹Roy Wilkins, "statement" for Harry Golden Day, 19 May 1969, Box 2 File 37, Harry Golden Collection Part II, U of North Carolina at Charlotte.

¹²See Chapter 3 of this study for a discussion of Martin Luther King, Jr.

¹³Wyatt Tee Walker, letter to Harry Golden, 4 May 1964, Box 9 File 5, Harry Golden Collection Part II, U of North Carolina at Charlotte.

¹⁴Martin Luther King, Jr., letter to Harry Golden, 30 April 1964, Box 11 File 29, Harry Golden Collection Part II, U of North Carolina at Charlotte. See Chapter 3 of this study for a discussion of the Birmingham campaign and Children's Crusade.

¹⁵The Alabama clergymen were: C. Carpenter, the Catholic Bishop of Alabama; Joseph Durick, the Catholic Auxiliary Bishop of Mobile; Milton Grafman, a Birmingham Rabbi; Paul Hardin, a Methodist Bishop; Nolan Harmon, a Methodist Bishop; George Murray, an Episcopal Bishop; Edward Ramage, a Presbyterian Moderator; and Earl Stallings, a Baptist Pastor. See Martin Luther King, Jr., Letter from Birmingham City Jail (Birmingham: American Friends Service Committee, 1963) 15.

¹⁶King, Letter from Birmingham City Jail 3, 8.

¹⁷King, Letter from Birmingham City Jail 8.

¹⁸King, Letter from Birmingham City Jail 5.

¹⁹King, Letter from Birmingham City Jail 5, 6.

²⁰King, Letter form Birmingham City Jail 11.

²¹King, Letter from Birmingham City Jail 11. See Chapter 4 of this study for a discussion of Ralph McGill. Lillian Smith was a civil rights advocate and author. Included among her books are Killers of the Dream (New York: Norton, 1949), and Now is the Time (New York: Viking, 1955). She also wrote for the Atlanta Constitution. James Dabbs was also a civil rights advocate and author. Included among his books are Southern Heritage (New York: Knopf, 1958), and Haunted by God (Richmond: Knox, 1972).

²²King, Letter from Birmingham City Jail 11.

²³Martin Luther King, Jr., letter to Harry Golden, 3 Nov. 1964, Box 19 File 5, Harry Golden Collection Part II, U of North Carolina at Charlotte; Martin Luther King, Jr., letter to Harry Golden, 15 Nov. 1965, Box 19 File 5, Harry Golden Collection Part II, U of North Carolina at Charlotte.

²⁴King, letter to Harry Golden, 15 Nov. 1965; Harry Golden, letter to Martin Luther King, Jr., 17 Nov. 1965, Box 11 File 29, Harry Golden Collection Part II, U of North Carolina at Charlotte; Harry Wachtel, memorandum to American Foundation on Nonviolence Board of Directors, 26 April 1966, Box 11 File 29, Harry Golden Collection Part II, U of North Carolina at Charlotte. By July 26, 1966 the Board of Directors had used some of the funds for voter education and registration grants in Alabama, Mississippi, and Georgia. See "minutes" of the AFON Board of Directors, 26 July 1966, Box 11 File 29, Harry Golden Collection Part II, U of North Carolina at Charlotte.

²⁵Martin Luther King, Jr., letter to Harry Golden, 2 July 1962, Box 19 File 5, Harry Golden Collection Part II, U of North Carolina at Charlotte; Harry Golden, telegram to Martin Luther King, Jr., 15 Oct. 1964, Box 19 File 5, Harry Golden Collection Part II, U of North Carolina at Charlotte; Martin Luther King, Jr., telegram to Harry Golden, 18 Mar. 1965, Box 11 File 19, Harry Golden Collection Part II, U of North Carolina at Charlotte; Harry Golden, telegram to Martin Luther King, Jr., 18 Mar. 1965, Box 11 File 29, Harry Golden Collection Part II, U of North Carolina at Charlotte; Martin Luther King, Jr., telegram to Harry Golden, 7 July 1966, Box 11 File 29, Harry Golden Collection Part II, U of North Carolina at Charlotte. See Chapter 3 of this study for a discussion of martyrs of the civil rights movement.

²⁶Harry Golden, So Long as You're Healthy (New York: Putnam, 1970) 230.

²⁷Golden, So Long as You're Healthy 230.

²⁸Harry Golden, The Right Time: An Autobiography, by Harry Golden (New York: Putnam, 1969) 252. See Chapter 6 of this study for a discussion of Golden's use of the Israelite.

²⁹See Chapter 3 of this study for a discussion of major civil rights leaders and organizations.

³⁰Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas, 74 S. Ct. 686; 347 U.S. 483, 1954. See Chapter 3 of this study for a discussion of this case.

³¹See Chapter 3 of this study for a discussion of the Montgomery bus boycott.

³²Browder v. Gayle 352 U.S. 903; 202 F. Supp. 707, 1956.

³³Ralph David Abernathy, And the Walls Came Tumbling Down (New York: Harper and Row, 1989) 175, 190.

³⁴The Israelite was also read by lower level judges such as J. Braxton Craven, Jr. of the U.S. Fourth Judicial Circuit. Braxton corresponded with Golden and considered Golden to be his friend. See J. Braxton Craven, Jr., letter to Robert Wallace, 12 April 1971, Box 2 File 28, Harry Golden Collection Part II, U of North Carolina at Charlotte. See Earl Warren, correspondence with Harry Golden, 1961, Box 21 File 2, Harry Golden Collection Part II, U of North Carolina at Charlotte; "Golden Rule," Time 1 April 1957: 62. Felix Frankfurter, letter to Harry Golden, 1 July 1959, Box 32 File 686, Harry Golden Collection Part II, U of North Carolina at Charlotte; Harry Golden, "Goodbye," the Carolina Israelite Jan./Feb. 1968: 2. Arthur Goldberg, letter to Harry Golden, 14 May 1964, Box 7 File 52, Harry Golden Collection Part II, U of North Carolina at Charlotte; Harry Golden, letter to Arthur Goldberg, 10 Sept. 1962, Box 7 File 52, Harry Golden Collection Part II, U of North Carolina at Charlotte.

³⁵Hugo Black, letter to Harry Golden, 18 Dec. 1968, Box 3 File 27, Harry Golden Collection Part II, U of North Carolina at Charlotte; Hugo Black, letter to Harry Golden, 1 July 1963, Box 3 File 27, Harry Golden Collection Part II, U of North Carolina at Charlotte.

³⁶Hugo Black, letter to Harry Golden, 5 Mar. 1970, Box 3 File 27, Harry Golden Collection Part II, U of North Carolina at Charlotte.

³⁷See Chapter 6 of this study for a brief discussion of

Golden's health at the time the Israelite closed.

³⁸Hugo Black, letter to Harry Golden, 11 Dec. 1968, Box 3 File 27, Harry Golden Collection Part II, U of North Carolina at Charlotte.

³⁹Hugo Black, letter to Harry Golden, 26 Oct. 1970, Box 3 File 27, Harry Golden Collection Part II, U of North Carolina at Charlotte.

⁴⁰Black, letter to Harry Golden, 26 Oct. 1970.

⁴¹William O. Douglas, foreword, The Best of Harry Golden, by Harry Golden (Cleveland: World, 1967) ix.

⁴²William O. Douglas, Go East, Young Man (New York: Vintage, 1974) 345.

⁴³Douglas, Foreword ix.

⁴⁴William O. Douglas, letter to Harry Golden, 1 Mar. 1968, Box 6 File 18, Harry Golden Collection Part II, U of North Carolina at Charlotte.

⁴⁵Douglas, foreword ix.

⁴⁶Harry Golden, letter to William O. Douglas, 11 Nov. 1974, Harry Golden Collection Part II, U of North Carolina at Charlotte.

⁴⁷See Chapter 3 of this study for discussions of the "Little Rock Nine," the Birmingham campaign, and "Bloody Sunday" and the Selma to Montgomery march. Juan Williams, Eyes on the Prize (New York: Penguin, 1988) 195, 217-217, 279. "Troops are Sent to Alabama Bases in Wake of Birmingham Rioting," Atlanta Constitution 13 May 1963: 1; Williams 194.

⁴⁸Harry Golden, Mr. Kennedy and the Negroes (Cleveland: World, 1964) 140, 143, 150.

⁴⁹Williams 195.

⁵⁰See the discussion of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 later in this section.

⁵¹See the discussion of the Voting Rights Act of 1965 later in this section.

⁵²Lyndon B. Johnson, "The American Promise," Congressional Record Senate, 89th Cong., 1st sess., (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1965) 22517.

⁵³Harry Golden, letter to Harry Truman, 17 Feb. 1965, Box 19 File 64, Harry Golden Collection Part II, U of North Carolina at Charlotte; Harry Truman, letter to Harry Golden, 9 Mar. 1965, Box 19 File 64, Harry Golden Collection Part II, U of North Carolina at Charlotte. Dwight Eisenhower, letter to Harry Golden, 4 Dec. 1946, Box 6 File 35, Harry Golden Collection Part II, U of North Carolina at Charlotte. Golden also corresponded with the wives of Presidents, such as Jacqueline Kennedy and Eleanor Roosevelt. Jacqueline Kennedy, letter to Harry Golden, 19 Jan. 1965, Harry Golden Collection, William Goldhurst Private Holdings, Gainesville; Eleanor Roosevelt, letters to Harry Golden, 30 June 1960 and 27 Mar. 1962, Box 17 File 31, Harry Golden Collection Part II, U of North Carolina at Charlotte.

⁵⁴Edward Kennedy, telegram to E.W. Colvard, 19 May 1969, Box 2 File 37, Harry Golden Collection Part II, U of North Carolina at Charlotte. Golden first met John and Robert Kennedy in 1957. All were participating in a Boston conference on retarded children. Their respective families each had a retarded child. See Harry Golden, The Right Time: An Autobiography, by Harry Golden (New York: Putnam, 1969) 414.

⁵⁵John F. Kennedy, letters to Harry Golden, 13 Mar. 1959 and 29 July 1959, Box 32 File 283, Harry Golden Collection Part I, U of North Carolina at Charlotte; John F. Kennedy, letter to Harry Golden, 17 Dec. 1960, Box 11 File 11, Harry Golden Collection Part II, U of North Carolina at Charlotte; Golden, The Right Time 429.

⁵⁶Golden, The Right Time 417.

⁵⁷Golden, The Right Time 426.

⁵⁸John F. Kennedy, letter to Harry Golden, 20 Aug. 1960, Box 32 File 283, Harry Golden Collection Part I, U of North Carolina at Charlotte; Golden, The Right Time 317.

⁵⁹John F. Kennedy, invitation to Harry Golden, June 1966, Box 10 File 37, Harry Golden Collection Part II, U of North Carolina at Charlotte; Ben Heineman, letter to Harry Golden, 14 May 1966, Box 10 File 37, Harry Golden Collection Part II, U of North Carolina at Charlotte.

⁶⁰White House Conference: "To Fulfill These Rights"
(Washington, D.C.: The White House, 1966) 1-2, 41.

⁶¹Golden, The Right Time 431.

⁶²Robert F. Kennedy, letters to Harry Golden, 6 Nov. 1959, 22 June 1960, 29 July 1963, and 14 Aug. 1963, Box 11 File 17, Harry Golden Collection Part II, U of North Carolina at Charlotte; Golden, The Right Time 436; Harry Golden, Ess, Ess Mein Kindt (New York: Putnam 1966) 256.

⁶³Robert F. Kennedy, letters to Harry Golden, 27 March 1959, Box 11 File 7, Harry Golden Collection Part II, U of North Carolina at Charlotte.

⁶⁴Golden, Ess, Ess Mein Kindt 257.

⁶⁵Golden, Ess, Ess Mein Kindt 257.

⁶⁶Lyndon B. Johnson, letters to Harry Golden, 2 Sept. 1960 and 15 June 1968, Box 10 File 37, Harry Golden Collection Part II, U of North Carolina at Charlotte; Lyndon B. Johnson, letter to Harry Golden, 19 Aug. 1964, Box 10 File 38, Harry Golden Collection Part II, U of North Carolina at Charlotte.

⁶⁷Harry Golden, memorandum to Lyndon B. Johnson, p. 3-4, Sept. 1964, Harry Golden Collection, William Goldhurst Private Holdings, Gainesville.

⁶⁸Harry Golden, memorandum to Lyndon B. Johnson, p. 1.

⁶⁹Lyndon B. Johnson, letter to Harry Golden, 29 Dec. 1964, Box 10 File 37, Harry Golden Collection Part II, U of North Carolina at Charlotte.

⁷⁰Hubert H. Humphrey, letter to Harry Golden, 23 Aug. 1968, Box 9 File 9, Harry Golden Collection Part II, U of North Carolina at Charlotte.

⁷¹Hubert H. Humphrey, letter to Harry Golden, 30 June 1966, Box 9 File 9, Harry Golden Collection Part II, U of North Carolina at Charlotte.

⁷²Hubert H. Humphrey, letter to Harry Golden, 21 Jan. 1960, Box 9 File 9, Harry Golden Collection Part II, U of North Carolina at Charlotte.

⁷³Hubert H. Humphrey, letter to Harry Golden, 5 June 1962, Box 9 File 9, Harry Golden Collection Part II, U of North Carolina at Charlotte.

⁷⁴Hubert H. Humphrey, letters to Harry Golden, 5 June 1962, 4 Sept. 1964, and 30 Aug. 1966, Box 9 File 9, Harry Golden Collection Part II, U of North Carolina at Charlotte.

⁷⁵Hubert H. Humphrey, letter to Harry Golden, 21 Jan. 1960, Box 9 File 9, Harry Golden Collection Part II, U of North Carolina at Charlotte.

⁷⁶Hubert H. Humphrey, letter to Harry Golden, 4 Sept. 1964, Box 9 File 9, Harry Golden Collection Part II, U of North Carolina at Charlotte.

⁷⁷Hubert H. Humphrey, letter to Harry Golden, 10 Sept. 1964, Box 10 File 38, Harry Golden Collection Part II, U of North Carolina at Charlotte. Harry Golden, letter to Hubert H. Humphrey, 24 Mar. 1964, Harry Golden Collection Part II, U of North Carolina at Charlotte.

⁷⁸Richard M. Nixon, telegram to Harry Golden, 18 May 1969, Box 2 File 37, Harry Golden Collection Part II, U of North Carolina at Charlotte; Richard M. Nixon, letter to Harry Golden, 3 Nov. 1972, Harry Golden Collection Part II, U of North Carolina at Charlotte.

⁷⁹Gerald R. Ford, letter to Harry Golden, 19 Aug. 1965, Box 7 File 23, Harry Golden Collection Part II, U of North Carolina at Charlotte.

⁸⁰Jimmy Carter, note to Harry Golden, Mar. 1977, Box 4 File 22, Harry Golden Collection Part II, U of North Carolina at Charlotte; Lloyd Corwin, letter to Harry Golden, 12 Jan. 1977, Box 4 File 22, Harry Golden Collection Part II, U of North Carolina at Charlotte. Walter F. Mondale,

letter to Harry Golden, 29 July 1976, Harry Golden Collection Part II, U of North Carolina at Charlotte.

⁸¹Walter F. Mondale, letter to Harry Golden, 10 April 1980, Box 13 File 43, Harry Golden Collection Part II, U of North Carolina at Charlotte.

⁸²Prior to the 1957 Act, Congress enacted the Civil Rights Act of 1875. The Act guaranteed all Americans the right to public accommodations. However, the law did not make segregated accommodations illegal. United States, 44th Congress, "Civil Rights Act of 1875," United States Statutes at Large (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1875) 335. United States, 85th Congress, "Civil Rights Act of 1957," United States Statutes at Large (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1958) 634-635, 637.

⁸³See Chapter 3 of this study for information on bombings and violence against civil rights workers. United States, 86th Congress, "Civil Rights Act of 1960," United States Statutes at Large Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1961) 86-88, 90-91, 206; Alphonso Pinkney, The Committed (New Haven: College and University, 1968) 206. Only written tests could be used. After the test a copy of the questions and answers had to be made available to the applicant. United States, 88th Congress, "Civil Rights Act of 1964," United States Statutes at Large (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1965) 241, 243-244; Gus Solomon, The Jewish Role in the American Civil Rights Movement (London: Jewish World Congress, 1967) 13, 15-16.

⁸⁴88th Congress, "Civil Rights Act of 1964" 253, 255-256.

⁸⁵United States, 89th Congress, "Voting Rights Act of 1965," United States Statutes at Large Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1966) 438, 440-442; Harry Golden, "The President's Voting Proposals," the Carolina Israelite Mar./April 1965: 7. 89th Congress, "Voting Rights Act of 1965" 440.

⁸⁶United States, 90th Congress, "Civil Rights Act of 1968," United States Statutes at Large (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1969) 83; Paul Horton, The Sociology of Social Problems 5th ed. (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1974) 421.

⁸⁷Edward Kennedy, telegram to E.W. Colvard, 19 May 1969, Box 2 File 37, Harry Golden Collection Part II, U of North Carolina at Charlotte.

⁸⁸Edward Kennedy, telegram to Harry Golden, 21 Nov. 1966, Box 11 File 24, Harry Golden Collection Part II, U of North Carolina at Charlotte.

⁸⁹Edward Kennedy, letters to Harry Golden, 4 Jan. 1967, 23 Sept. 1968, 9 Dec. 1971, 20 Mar. 1973, 16 Oct. 1974, Box 11 File 24, Harry Golden Collection Part II, U of North Carolina at Charlotte.

⁹⁰Edward Kennedy, letter to Harry Golden, 6 Mar. 1970, Box 11 File 24, Harry Golden Collection Part II, U of North Carolina at Charlotte.

⁹¹George McGovern, letter to Harry Golden, 12 Aug. 1972, Box 13 File 51, Harry Golden Collection Part II, U of North Carolina at Charlotte; George McGovern, letter to William Goldhurst, 18 Feb. 1983, Harry Golden Collection, William Goldhurst Private Holdings, Gainesville; George McGovern, letter to Harry Golden, 23 Aug. 1972, Box 13 File 21, Harry Golden Collection Part II, U of North Carolina at Charlotte.

⁹²George McGovern, "remarks" for Harry Golden Day at the U of North Carolina at Charlotte, 9 April 1973, Harry Golden Collection, William Goldhurst Private Holdings, Gainesville.

⁹³George McGovern, "remarks" for Harry Golden Day.

⁹⁴Thomas Kuchel, letter to Harry Golden, 3 Mar. 1965, Box 20 File 18, Harry Golden Collection Part II, U of North Carolina at Charlotte.

⁹⁵Edmund Muskie, letter to Harry Golden, Mar. 1971, Box 13 File 51, Harry Golden Collection Part II, U of North Carolina at Charlotte.

⁹⁶Edmund Muskie, letter to Harry Golden, Mar. 1971.

⁹⁷Gale McGee, letter to Harry Golden, 1 Aug. 1966; Ernest Hollings, letter to Harry Golden, 3 March 1969; Ralph Yarborough, letter to Harry Golden, 9 Dec. 1964; Philip

Hart, letter to Harry Golden, 16 Apr. 1969; Howard Baker, Jr., letter to Harry Golden, 24 Jan. 1978; Frank Church, letter to Harry Golden, 18 Oct. 1961; J.W. Fulbright, letter to Harry Golden, 19 Oct. 1961; Claiborne Pell letter to Harry Golden, 13 May 1962; Ernest Gruening, letter to Harry Golden, 31 Jul. 1962; Joseph Clark, letter to Harry Golden, 9 Apr. 1963; Eugene McCarthy, letter to Harry Golden, 17 Nov. 1964; Thomas Dodd, letter to Harry Golden, 25 Nov. 1964; Thomas Eagleton, letter to Harry Golden, 22 Aug. 1974; Vance Hartke, letter to Harry Golden, 31 Oct. 1974, Box 20 File 18, Harry Golden Collection Part II, U of North Carolina at Charlotte; Jacob Javits, letter to Harry Golden, 3 Jul. 1963, Box 10 File 8, Harry Golden Collection Part II, U North Carolina at Charlotte.

⁹⁸See Chapter 3 of this study for a discussion of the civil rights movement, including race riots.

⁹⁹Abraham Ribicoff, letter to Harry Golden, 14 Oct. 1966, Box 17 File 21, Harry Golden Collection Part II, U of North Carolina at Charlotte.

¹⁰⁰Ribicoff, letter to Harry Golden, 14 Oct. 1966.

¹⁰¹Harry Golden, letter to Abraham Ribicoff, 19 Oct. 1966, Box 17 File 21, Harry Golden Collection Part II, U of North Carolina at Charlotte; Abraham Ribicoff, letter to Harry Golden, 21 Oct. 1966, Box 17 File 21, Harry Golden Collection Part II, U of North Carolina at Charlotte; Harry Golden, "My Testimony Before the Senate Committee," the Carolina Israelite Nov./Dec. 1966: 1; Harry Golden, "The Senate Hearing," the Carolina Israelite Nov./Dec. 1966: 8.

¹⁰²United States Senate, Committee on government Operations, Subcommittee on Executive Reorganization, Federal Role in Urban Affairs 89th Cong., 2nd sess., (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1966) 1531.

¹⁰³Senate, Federal Role in Urban Affairs 1530-1531.

¹⁰⁴Senate, Federal Role in Urban Affairs 1539.

¹⁰⁵Senate, Federal Role in Urban Affairs 1563.

¹⁰⁶Harrison Williams, "The South's Great Victory,"

Congressional Record Senate, 88th Cong., 1st sess., (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1963) 10589.

¹⁰⁷Williams, "The South's Great Victory" 10589.

¹⁰⁸Philip Hart, "Race and Immigration," Congressional Record Senate, 88th Cong., 2nd sess., (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1964) 23607.

¹⁰⁹Philip Hart, "The Importance of Education," Congressional Record Senate, 89th Cong., 1st sess., (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1965) 2833.

¹¹⁰Hart, "The Importance of Education" 2833.

¹¹¹Hart, "The Importance of Education" 2834.

¹¹²James Murray, letter to Harry Golden, 25 Mar. 1958, Box 20 File 18, Harry Golden Collection Part II, U of North Carolina at Charlotte. See Chapter 6, note #1 of this study for information on the fire.

¹¹³James Murray, "Charlotte's Harry Golden: Portrait of a Pleasant Myth," Congressional Record--Appendix Senate (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1958) A2697.

¹¹⁴Charles Jonas, letter to Robert Wallace, 29 April 1969, Box 20 File 17, Harry Golden Collection Part II, U of North Carolina at Charlotte; Charles Jonas, "statement" at Harry Golden Day luncheon, 19 May 1969, Harry Golden Collection, William Goldhurst Private Holdings, Gainesville.

¹¹⁵Charles Jonas, "statement" at Harry Golden day luncheon. See Chapter 6 of this study for a discussion of the Vertical Negro Plan.

¹¹⁶Donald Fraser, letter to Harry Golden, 27 July 1964, Box 20 File 17, Harry Golden Collection Part Israelite, U of North Carolina at Charlotte.

¹¹⁷Barrat O'Hara, letter to Harry Golden, 11 July 1961, Box 20 File 17, Harry Golden Collection Part II, U of North Carolina at Charlotte.

¹¹⁸A.W. Joslyn, letter to Harry Golden, 8 Jan. 1965, Box 20 File 17, Harry Golden Collection Part II, U of North Carolina at Charlotte.

¹¹⁹Nick Galifianakis, letter to Harry Golden, 22 June 1972, Box 20 File 17, Harry Golden Collection Part Israelite, U of North Carolina at Charlotte.

¹²⁰Seymour Halpern, letter to Harry Golden, 28 Mar. 1972; Leonard Farbstein, letter to Harry Golden, 6 Jan. 1966; Steven Derounian, letter to Harry Golden, 18 Aug. 1964; Emanuel Celler, letter to Harry Golden, 19 Aug. 1965; Herbert Zelenko, letter to Harry Golden, 13 June 1962; Edward Koch, letter to Harry Golden, 5 Feb. 1971; Elizabeth Holtzman, letter to Harry Golden, 27 Sept. 1974; James Broyhill, letter to Harry Golden, 22 Feb. 1973; Norman Martin, letter to Harry Golden, 15 Feb. 1973; Roy Taylor, letter to Harry Golden, 14 Feb. 1973; Horace Kornegay, letter to Harry Golden, 15 Aug. 1961; Robert Drinan, letter to Harry Golden, 6 May 1971; Michael Harrington, letter to Harry Golden, 9 Dec. 1975; Melvin Laird, letter to Harry Golden, 17 Aug. 1964; Roger Morton, letter to Harry Golden, 27 Aug. 1964; Clark MacGregor, letter to Harry Golden, 1 Oct. 1964; John Culver, letter to Harry Golden, 26 Nov. 1968; William Anderson, letter to Harry Golden, 15 Sept. 1971, Box 20 File 17, Harry Golden Collection Part II, U of North Carolina at Charlotte.

¹²¹Although Golden was praised by most of the federal legislators who were familiar with his work, on at least one occasion (in March of 1960) he found opposition in Congress to his views. According to Representative Lewis Forrester of Georgia, Golden and others mistakenly believed that civil rights legislation could cure all the ills of the country. Lewis Forrester, "Civil Rights," Congressional Record House (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1960) 5211.

¹²²Ogden Reid, letter to Harry Golden, 29 April 1972, Harry Golden Collection, William Goldhurst Private Holdings, Gainesville; United States House of Representatives, Committee on the Judiciary, School Busing 92nd Cong., 2nd sess., (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1972) 641-644.

¹²³House of Representatives, School Busing 641-643.

¹²⁴Reid, letter to Harry Golden, 9 Mar. 1972.

¹²⁵See Chapter 6 of this study for a discussion of the Out-of-Order Plan.

¹²⁶Charles Diggs, "How to Solve the Segregation Problem," Congressional Record--Appendix House (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1957) A2832.

¹²⁷See Chapter 6 of this study for a discussion of the use of the Out-of-Order Plan.

¹²⁸James Roosevelt, "The Golden Out-of-Order Plan in Operation," Congressional Record--Appendix House (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1958) A6714.

¹²⁹Roosevelt, A6714.

¹³⁰See Chapter 6 of this study for a discussion of the White Baby Plan.

¹³¹Charles Diggs, "How to Solve the Segregation Problem--The White Baby Plan," Congressional Record--Appendix House (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1957) A4477-A4478.

¹³²Charles Weltner, "A 20th Century Committee of Correspondence," Congressional Record House, 89th Cong., 2nd sess., (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1966) 28327.

¹³³Harry Golden, letter to Charles Weltner, in Charles Weltner, "A 20th Century Committee of Correspondence," Congressional Record House, 89th Cong., 2nd sess., (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1966) 28328.

¹³⁴Newton Minow, letter to Harry Golden, 10 Sept. 1962, Box 13 File 36, Harry Golden Collection Part II, U of North Carolina at Charlotte; Harry Golden, letter to Newton Minow, 17 Sept. 1962, Box 13 File 36, Harry Golden Collection Part II, U of North Carolina at Charlotte.

¹³⁵Newton Minow, letter to Harry Golden, 30 Aug. 1961, Box 13 File 36, Harry Golden Collection Part II, U of North Carolina at Charlotte.

¹³⁶John Buggs, letter to Harry Golden, Jan. 1974, Box 5 File 14, Harry Golden Collection Part II, U of North Carolina at Charlotte.

¹³⁷Buggs, letter to Harry Golden, Jan. 1974.

¹³⁸See Chapter 3 of this study for a discussion of this case.

¹³⁹Buggs, letter to Harry Golden, Jan. 1974.

¹⁴⁰Mac Secrest, letter to Harry Golden, 24 Nov. 1964, Box 20 File 12, Harry Golden Collection Part II, U of North Carolina at Charlotte; See also Department of Commerce correspondence, Box 20 File 12, Harry Golden Collection Part II, U of North Carolina at Charlotte; Harold Howe, letter to Harry Golden, 12 Dec. 1968, Box 20 File 13, Harry Golden Collection Part II, U of North Carolina at Charlotte, See also Department of Health Education and Welfare correspondence, Box 20 File 13, Harry Golden Collection Part II, U of North Carolina at Charlotte; Michael Cieplinski, letter to Harry Golden, 12 Aug. 1964, Box 20 File 16, Harry Golden Collection Part II, U of North Carolina at Charlotte, See also Department of State correspondence, Box 20 File 16, Harry Golden Collection Part II, U of North Carolina at Charlotte; John Doar, letter to Harry Golden, 10 Oct. 1963, Box 20 File 15, Harry Golden Collection Part II, U of North Carolina at Charlotte, See also Department of Justice correspondence, Box 20 File 15, Harry Golden Collection Part II, U of North Carolina at Charlotte; Holley Bell, letter to Harry Golden, 6 Dec. 1966, Box 20 File 14, Harry Golden Collection Part II, U of North Carolina at Charlotte, See also U.S. Information Agency correspondence, Box 20 File 14, Harry Golden Collection Part II, U of North Carolina at Charlotte.

¹⁴¹According to Golden, his readership also included Christian and Jewish religious leaders; government and political leaders; business and industry leaders; newspaper publishers, editors, and writers; lawyers and doctors; and many famous people. See Harry Golden, "Readership," the Carolina Israelite March/April 1959: 9; and Harry Golden, Only in America (Cleveland: World, 1958) 13.

¹⁴²Readership of the Carolina Israelite ranged from 400 in 1941 to 53,000 in 1959. See Harry Golden, "25th Anniversary," the Carolina Israelite Nov./Dec. 1966; Harry

Golden, "Net Circulation," the Carolina Israelite Oct. 1959: 12; Harry Golden, "Net Circulation," the Carolina Israelite May 1959: 9; and Harry Golden, "The Carolina Israelite's Printing," the Carolina Israelite Feb. 1957: 1.

¹⁴³Edythe Rubinsohn, The Harry Golden Followers Newsletter May 1968; Edythe Rubinsohn, The Harry Golden Followers Newsletter June 1968.

¹⁴⁴Belmont Abbey College, honorary degree to Harry Golden, May 1962; Johnson C. Smith University, honorary degree to Harry Golden, May 1965; Thiel College, honorary degree to Harry Golden, May 1974, Awards Series Box 159, Harry Golden Collection Part I, U of North Carolina at Charlotte; University of North Carolina at Charlotte, honorary degree to Harry Golden, May 1977, Awards Series Box 159, Harry Golden Collection Part I, U of North Carolina at Charlotte, William Goldhurst Private Holdings, Gainesville.

¹⁴⁵Carver College, plaque to Harry Golden, May 1955, Awards Series Box 159, Harry Golden Collection Part I, U of North Carolina at Charlotte; Harry Golden, "Citation from Carver College," the Carolina Israelite June 1966: 3; University of North Carolina at Charlotte, Harry Golden Day proclamation, & May 1969, Box 2 File 37, Harry Golden Collection Part II, University of North Carolina at Charlotte; E.K. Fretwell, Jr., letter to Harry Golden, Jr., 2 Nov. 1981, Harry Golden Collection, William Goldhurst, Private Holdings, Gainesville.

¹⁴⁶U of North Carolina at Charlotte, Harry Golden Day proclamation, 7 May 1969, Box 2 File 37, Harry Golden Collection Part II, U of North Carolina at Charlotte.

¹⁴⁷"Harry Golden Lectureship," UNC-C News Summer 1969: 3.

¹⁴⁸"Five are Named to Hall of Fame," Jafa News April 1983: 1; Harry Golden, Jr., letter to Robin Brabham, 12 May 1983, Harry Golden Collection, William Goldhurst Private Holdings, Gainesville.

¹⁴⁹"Five are Named to Hall of Fame" 2.

¹⁵⁰The other founding editor of Freedom's Journal was Rev. Samuel Cornish; See Chapter 2 of this study for a brief discussion of Freedom's Journal. See also Edwin Emery and

Michael Emery, The Press and America: An Interpretive History of the Mass Media 5th ed. (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1984) 181; National Newspaper Publishers Association, "Russwurm Award" presented to Harry Golden, 15 Mar. 1958, Awards Series Box 159, Harry Golden Collection Part I, U of North Carolina at Charlotte.

¹⁵¹Elks Grand Lodge, "Lovejoy Award" plaque to Harry Golden, 24 Aug. 1964, Awards Series Box 159, Harry Golden Collection Part I, U of North Carolina at Charlotte; Harry Golden, "The Lovejoy Award," the Carolina Israelite Oct. 1964: 23.

¹⁵²Omega Psi Phi, plaque to Harry Golden, 1 May 1960, Awards Series Box 159, Harry Golden Collection Part I, U of North Carolina at Charlotte.

¹⁵³National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, "Hall of Fame" plaque to Harry Golden, 23 May 1986, Awards Series Box 159, Harry Golden Collection Part I, U of North Carolina at Charlotte.

¹⁵⁴National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, "Hall of Fame" plaque to Harry Golden, 23 May 1986, Awards Series Box 159, Harry Golden Collection Part I, U of North Carolina at Charlotte.

¹⁵⁵National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, "1986 Freedom Fund Banquet" program, 23 May 1986, Awards Series Box 159, Harry Golden Collection Part I, U of North Carolina at Charlotte.

¹⁵⁶National Federation of Temple Brotherhods, "Man of the Year" plaque to Harry Golden, 15 Jan. 1959, Awards Series Box 159, Harry Golden Collection Part I, U of North Carolina at Charlotte.

¹⁵⁷Agudas and Beth Israel Brotherhods, Man of the Year" plaque to Harry Golden, 14 April 1959, Awards Series Box 159, Harry Golden Collection Part I, U of North Carolina at Charlotte.

¹⁵⁸American Jewish Committee-Anti Defamation League, "Distinguished Journalism" plaque to Harry Golden, 18 June 1959, Awards Series Box 159, Harry Golden Collection Part I, U of North Carolina at Charlotte.

¹⁵⁹Brith Abraham, "Grand Master Award" plaque to Harry Golden, 27 June 1960, Awards Series Box 159, Harry Golden Collection Part I, U of North Carolina at Charlotte.

¹⁶⁰Brith Abraham, "Grand Master Award" plaque to Harry Golden, 27 June 1960, Awards Series Box 159, Harry Golden Collection Part I, U of North Carolina at Charlotte.

¹⁶¹State of North Carolina, "Ambassador of Goodwill" plaque to Harry Golden, 3 Dec. 1957, Awards Series Box 159, Harry Golden Collection Part I, U of North Carolina at Charlotte; Mary Semans, letter to Harry Golden, 19 July 1979, Harry Golden Collection, William Goldhurst Private Holdings, Gainesville; James A. Graham, letter to Harry Golden, 3 Dec. 1979, Box 2 File 40, Harry Golden Collection Part II, U of North Carolina at Charlotte.

¹⁶²City Council, City of Chicago, Illinois, "A Resolution" on Harry Golden, 6 Oct. 1981, Harry Golden Collection, William Goldhurst Private Holdings, Gainesville.

¹⁶³Public School 20 Alumni Association, certificate to Harry Golden, 19 June 1959, Awards Series Box 159, Harry Golden Collection Part I, U of North Carolina at Charlotte.

¹⁶⁴Old North State Medical Society, plaque to Harry Golden, 16 June 1965, Awards Series Box 159, Harry Golden Collection Part I, U of North Carolina at Charlotte.

¹⁶⁵Thomas R. Brooks, Walls Come Tumbling Down: A History of the Civil Rights Movement, 1940-1970 (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1974) 147-148; See Chapter 6 of this study for a discussion of the Vertical Negro and Out-of-Order Plans.

¹⁶⁶Robert Penn Warren, Who Speaks for the Negro (New York: Random House, 1965) i, 153.

¹⁶⁷Bradford Daniels, Black, White, and Gray: Twenty One Points of View on the Race Question (New York: Libraries, 1964) vii, viii, 5-13.

¹⁶⁸Taylor Branch, Parting the Waters: America in the King Years 1954-1963 (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1988) 1006.

¹⁶⁹Calder M. Pickett, Voices of the Past: Key Documents in the History of American Journalism (Columbus: Grid, 1977) 453.

¹⁷⁰Harry Ashmore, Hearts and Minds (New York: McGraw Hill, 1982) 100-103; Ralph McGill, No Place to Hide: The South and Human Rights (Macon: Mercer U.P., 1984) 267; See Chapter 4 of this study for a discussion of Harry Ashmore and Ralph McGill.

CHAPTER 8 CONCLUSIONS

This study examined the journalistic civil rights advocacy of Harry Golden--through the Carolina Israelite--in the context of press facilitation of the modern civil rights movement. Central to the study was the assessment of Golden's motivation, methods, and significance in advocating civil rights for black Americans. In order to assess Golden's incentives, techniques, and importance, a historical account of his background and career was constructed.

An investigation of Golden's childhood, young adulthood, and early career in journalism yielded insight into factors that contributed to his motivation to advocate black civil rights. The investigation also supplied enlightenment concerning the development of Golden's philosophy vis-a-vis civil rights advocacy. The study further investigated Golden's founding and use of the Israelite for insight into the form and substance of his advocacy. The study then examined Golden's interaction with influential segments of American society such as government

and civil rights leaders for insight into the significance of his advocacy.

The study also discussed subject matter that directly related to Golden's advocacy. The study presented an overview of the modern civil rights movement to clarify the setting in which Golden advocated civil rights. Next, the study discussed the press from the standpoint of interaction with the movement and press facilitation of the movement. Then a discussion of personal journalism supplied insight into Golden's approach to journalism. The collective insight provided by the study indicated that Golden's motivation, methods, and significance were both notable and related.

Golden's Motivation

This study posed three research questions. First, why did Harry Golden advocate civil rights for black Americans? Golden, as a Jew, and immigrant, and ex-convict, a northerner transplanted to the South, and a journalist, could have lived a relatively inconspicuous life. He could have devoted his post-prison life to the pursuit of personal comfort and anonymity. Likewise, he could have yielded to the southern racial relations status quo and ignored the

desperate plight of southern blacks. However, Golden was compelled to participate in the struggle for black civil rights by factors such as his Jewish heritage, immigrant background, sense of morality, and sense of journalistic responsibility.

As a Jew, Golden reached the conclusion that most of his fellow Jews in the South were reluctant to take part in --the civil rights movement. He believed that some Jews feared reprisals--economic and physical--from southern white gentiles, while other southern Jews had no sympathy for blacks.¹ Golden, on the other hand, utilized his Jewish heritage as a motivating factor in fighting for blacks.

Golden empathized with the suffering of blacks based on similar suffering endured by his own ancestors throughout history. He believed that the barriers of color and religion kept blacks and Jews, respectively, from full acceptance by white gentiles. He also believed that the hopes of blacks and Jews for equality and acceptance by the predominantly white gentile American society was equally intense.² His perception of commonality in black and Jewish suffering, hopes, and aspirations led him to believe that the struggle for black civil rights directly related to Jews. He contended that both blacks and Jews could benefit

from the fight. In essence, he believed that when Jews fought for blacks, Jews fought for themselves.³

As an immigrant, Golden developed into a patriot. He, like many immigrants,⁴ loved his new country with its vast opportunity and potential for individual self-fulfillment. Golden could have pursued the "American dream"⁵ without concern for others. Yet, life in America proved that the dream was flawed. Golden reached the conclusion that American society was "blemished" by a "second-class citizenship"⁶ imposed upon blacks. As a lover of American ideals like freedom, equality, and opportunity, Golden asserted that the condoning of the black second-class citizenship by whites was hypocrisy. Therefore, Golden believed that even though blacks were identified with the need for civil rights, the fight for civil rights was one for all Americans.⁷

As a moral human being, Golden became outraged by what he perceived as the "dehumanizing"⁸ of blacks by southern whites. He considered the plight of blacks in the South desperate. Southern traditions that placed blacks in subservient roles "nagged" Golden.⁹ Institutionalized racism--segregation--offended Golden because it placed him, as a white, in the capacity of an involuntary accomplice to racial inequality. Therefore, Golden wanted to do something

about it. Golden wanted to make a meaningful contribution to the righting of wrong, although such a contribution provided the potential for exposing his prison past.¹⁰

As a socially responsible journalist, Golden believed that the American press had a duty to address serious "social ills" such as racism and segregation. He could have operated a strictly Jewish community newspaper. However, he was aware of a deliberate void in the coverage of blacks and the movement by the southern white press. Golden knew that blacks were ignored, downplayed, and portrayed in a demeaning light by the southern white press. Likewise, he believed that the "story" of the movement had to be his story.¹¹

Golden felt that public awareness of racial problems could foster understanding and better race relations. He saw racism as the root of unfair and unequal treatment of blacks. Therefore, he attacked various manifestations of racism, such as the denial of voting rights, substandard health care, and inadequate educational and employment opportunities for blacks.¹²

The combination of these motivating factors provided Golden with the strength of spirit to fight for what he believed was right. Thus, he undertook the fight. These motivating factors also provided him with the commitment to

withstand opposition from both his fellow Jews and southern white gentiles.¹³

Golden's Methods

The second research question posed by this study was: How did Harry Golden advocate civil rights for black Americans? Based on the aforementioned factors of motivation, Golden was compelled to advocate civil rights for black Americans. Golden's motivation also related to his methods of advocacy.

Golden's journalism career began prior to his enlightenment regarding the plight of blacks in the South. Subsequently, when he became familiar with the plight of blacks and recognized the void in southern white press coverage of blacks, he was already a part of the profession that provided tremendous potential for facilitation--exposure, advocacy, amplification--of social change. As a member of the American press, Golden was in a position which provided him with the potential to rouse the conscience of the public and impel people to confront ideas concerning morality that they might have otherwise avoided. Therefore, Golden utilized journalism--the press--as his dominant outlet for civil rights advocacy.¹⁴

Specifically, Golden utilized personal journalism as a means of social change--civil rights--facilitation. Through personal journalism, he was able to work free of the restraints of supervision and organizational policy that routinely applied to all journalists at larger and company-operated newspapers. As a personal journalist, Golden had complete editorial control of his own newspaper. He was free to take unpopular stands and advocate causes such as civil rights for blacks. Golden's personal journalism also provided him with the freedom to utilize creative methods of advocacy, such as various forms of satiric humor.¹⁵

Golden used frank, satiric humor as a tool to facilitate better interracial communication, understanding, and acceptance. He wrote about the struggle for black civil rights by vividly illustrating the absurdity of racism and the ludicrous nature of segregationist traditions. Golden believed that the use of humor increased the likelihood that people would pay attention to his point of view.¹⁶

Just as Golden's career as a journalist had a bearing on his selection of journalism as a dominant means of civil rights advocacy, his Jewish heritage had an impact on his use of satire in journalistic advocacy of civil rights. He considered humor "a part of the Jewish culture."¹⁷ To Golden, Jewish humor was born of a need to mitigate

centuries of "despair, poverty, and terror in Europe."¹⁸ He contended that Jewish humor was a defense against a "hostile society."¹⁹ He also believed that "the more desperate the problem, the more humor was needed."²⁰ Golden in essence transferred the tradition of Jewish use of humor in desperate situations to his advocacy of civil rights for blacks.²¹

Golden's incorporation of satiric humor in his personal journalism took various forms. His Golden Plans provided seemingly ridiculous recommendations for resolving race-related problems. In addition, he used other satiric editorial forms like awards, poems, and anecdotes based on race-related themes.²²

Golden used personal journalism as a weapon in the struggle for black civil rights. Likewise, he used satiric humor as ammunition. In so doing, Golden's use of the press served to assist the black quest for civil rights.

Golden primarily used advocacy and amplification as forms of facilitation. Through advocacy,²³ Golden supported and recommended the ideals of racial harmony--such as understanding and acceptance--and stressed the need for the attainment of civil rights for blacks. He reminded the public of American ideals--equality, justice, opportunity--

while constantly pointing out the gap between those ideals and the harsh reality of life for blacks in the South.

Golden's advocacy also complemented the work of the black press. Through targeting the Israelite at whites, he helped to expand such advocacy beyond the bounds of the black audience, thereby promoting sympathy and support among whites. His opinions positively influenced the civil rights thinking of a variety of whites. His advocacy not only appealed to average citizens, but to Presidents, Senators, Congressmen, Supreme Court Justices, and other governmental leaders.²⁴

Although the Israelite was not aimed specifically at blacks, Golden's advocacy was appreciated by blacks. The black press recognized the significant complementary function Golden's journalism performed. Various black organizations also praised his efforts.²⁵

Through amplification as a form of facilitation,²⁶ Golden helped to magnify the importance and impact of the civil rights movement, its purpose, objectives, and activities. He helped the movement reach higher and wider levels of public awareness by amplifying the message of the movement. In the process, Golden inspired and won the respect, admiration, and appreciation of top black civil rights leaders.²⁷

Golden's Significance

The third research question posed by this study was: Did Harry Golden's journalistic work on behalf of black civil rights make a difference? A variety of people--average citizens through Presidents--were aware of Golden's advocacy. In addition, many of the people who had a direct impact on the progress and outcome of the movement--governmental and civil rights leaders--found Golden's advocacy appealing, enlightening, and inspiring. However, Golden's work takes on a greater significance in terms of overall press facilitation of the movement. His personal journalism on behalf of black civil rights also has larger implications.

Press Significance

By the late 1960s, the combined efforts of various segments of the press--black, national, print, broadcast--served to assist the modern civil rights movement. Although the press did not initiate the movement, it did expose racial injustice; advocate racial equality; and amplify the actions, objectives, and significance of the movement. Some researchers have even contended that the movement would have

taken longer to achieve success--popular and governmental support, legislation--or would not have succeeded at all if not for the facilitation of the press.²⁸

Harry Golden was one of the relatively few whites who pioneered the journalistic advocacy of the modern movement in white-owned publications. He helped to lead the way in press support of the movement. Regrettably, the combination of poor health and a shift in the direction of the movement toward militancy (in the late 1960s) caused Golden to close the Israelite and curtail his journalistic activities. However, his journalistic support of black civil rights exemplified the dedication and zeal with which other segments of the press would eventually assist the movement. In addition, his early--1950s--advocacy also complemented the work of the black press and helped to fill a void left by the southern white press.²⁹

Overall, the bravery and sacrifice of civil rights movement participants and the dedication of the press contributed to a mutually beneficial relationship between the press and the movement. The relationship provided the press with one of the most important stories of the century and the opportunity to participate in the righting of wrong. The relationship also facilitated the movement by stimulating the popular and governmental support that

contributed to social change. Through the Carolina Israelite, Harry Golden played a significant part in the formation and perpetuation of the relationship.

Larger Implications

Despite his commitment and work on behalf of black civil rights, Golden believed that blacks were capable of fighting their own fight. However, he was compelled to help.³⁰ Although the civil rights movement would have taken place without Golden's help, the movement probably would not have accomplished many of its goals without the complementary participation of whites such as Golden.

Golden's advocacy was atypical of southern white involvement in the movement. Therefore, his compulsion to help and his actual advocacy take on an added dimension beyond the aforementioned motivating factors. Golden's advocacy illustrated the fact that the civil rights struggle went beyond race to encompass the issue of human equality. His desire to help illustrated a growing national intolerance with inhumanity and an awareness within American society that the unjust deprivation of the rights of any one group of people in fact diminishes the rights of all others.

Harry Golden's journalistic civil rights advocacy made a difference because he had the desire to make a difference.

Suggestions for Further Research

Further research related to this study could pursue additional insight into the work of Harry Golden or investigate some other aspect of the relationship between the press and the civil rights movement. In terms of Golden, this study concentrated on his journalistic civil rights advocacy through the Israelite. However, to a lesser extent Golden also utilized public speaking--conventions, graduations, banquets--and television appearances to advocate civil rights. In addition, he used portions of his books for advocacy. The civil rights advocacy in Golden's books generally recapitulated his Israelite advocacy through the compilation of selected Israelite articles. Golden's advocacy through public speaking was previously examined in the doctoral dissertation of Margaret Nash Sides.³¹

Therefore, Golden's advocacy through television provides excellent potential for future exploration. During the 1950s and 1960s, Golden made regular appearances on a variety of local and national television programs. Such a study might assess his content, style, popularity, and

impact in the context of television non-news programming and civil rights advocacy.³²

Golden might also be examined as part of a comparative study. Martin Luther King, Jr. named three other white journalists, in addition to Golden, whom he considered significant journalistic civil rights advocates. They included Ralph McGill, Lillian Smith, and James Dabbs.³³

The style and content of each might be compared and examined for impact on the movement and on the public.

In terms of the relationship between the press and the civil rights movement, a subsequent study might use content analysis to investigate the civil rights editorial policies and practices among selected southern white-owned newspapers during the 1950s. Such a study could analyze the southern white press in terms of the amount of civil rights-black coverage, the slanting of coverage (pro and con), type of publication (daily, weekly, small, large, personal journal), and changes in coverage. Such a study would also provide insight into any variety or extremes of press coverage of blacks. The study might seek to ascertain reasons for the variety (fear of lost advertising, conformity to community racial traditions, racism among management).

Another study related to the press and the civil rights movement might examine the role of television news in

promoting the movement. Television, with its immediacy, visual movement, and vividness, has been credited with bringing the movement--its ideals, actions, and effects--to the living rooms of America. Such a study could assess the role and impact of television on the movement and the audience.³⁴

Notes

¹Harry Golden, The Right Time, An Autobiography, by Harry Golden (New York: Putnam, 1969) 238; Harry Golden, "Jew and Gentile in the New South," Commentary Nov. 1955: 412; Harry Golden, "Integration and the Jews," Carolina Israelite Mar./April 1960: 7. Many northern Jews did support and participate in the civil rights movement. See Lenwood Davis, Black Jewish Relations in the United States, 1752-1984 (Westport: Greenwood, 1984) xi-xiii; Gus Solomon The Jewish Role in the American Civil Rights Movement (London: Jewish World Congress, 1967) 22; Harry Golden, "Letter to an Angry Jew," Carolina Israelite Sept./Oct. 1960: 17.

²Harry Golden, "Harry Golden," Negro and Jew: An Encounter in America ed. Shlomo Katz (New York: Macmillan, 1967) 64.

³Harry Golden, Harry Golden on Various Matters (New York: Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, 1966) 47.

⁴Irving Howe, World of Our Fathers (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1976) 34-35, 163.

⁵Harry Golden, "The American Dream," Johns Hopkins Magazine April 1962: 8.

⁶Golden, "The American Dream," 36-37.

⁷Harry Golden, Ess, Ess Mein Kindt (New York: Putnam, 1966) 212-213.

⁸Golden, The Right Time 239.

⁹Golden, The Right Time 242.

¹⁰Harry Golden, For 2 Cents Plain (Cleveland: World, 1958) 20; Golden, The Right Time 154-155, 210.

¹¹Golden, The Right Time 239; See Chapter 4 of this study for a discussion of various segments of the press. See also Henry Lewis Suggs, The Black Press in the South, 1865-1979 (Westport: Greenwood, 1983) 28, 142; Harry Golden, "Civil Rights for a Selfish Reason," Carolina Israelite April 1964: 9; Harry Golden, interview, Sunday Morning CBS TV 25 Oct. 1981.

¹²Golden, For 2 Cents Plain 251; Golden, The Right Time 246; Golden, "The American Dream" 8.

¹³See Chapter 6 of this study for a discussion of opposition to Golden and the Israelite.

¹⁴See Chapter 2 of this study for discussions of the typologies of press facilitation as related to the civil rights movement and perspectives on the press and social change. To a lesser extent, Golden also utilized books (many of which were compilations of Israelite material), television appearances, and various speaking engagements (conventions, graduations, and Congressional hearings) to advocate civil rights for blacks.

¹⁵See Chapter 2 of this study for a discussion of personal journalism.

¹⁶William Goldhurst, "My Father, Harry Golden," Midstream June/July 1969: 68, 73; William Goldhurst, personal interviews, 27 Feb. 1989, 30 Mar. 1990.

¹⁷Harry Golden, The Golden Book of Jewish Humor (New York: Putnam, 1972) 12.

¹⁸Harry Golden, "Jewish Wit," Carolina Israelite Dec. 1965: 5.

¹⁹Golden, "Jewish Wit" 5.

²⁰Golden, The Golden Book of Jewish Humor 12.

²¹William Goldhurst, personal interview, 30 Mar. 1990; Golden, The Golden Book of Jewish Humor 11.

²²See Chapter 6 of this study for discussions of the Golden Plans and anecdotes and other forms of satire used by Golden.

²³See Chapter 2 of this study for a discussion of advocacy and amplification as forms of press facilitation of the civil rights movement.

²⁴Golden, The Right Time 252; See Chapter 7 of this study for a discussion of Golden's appeal.

²⁵For example, the National Newspaper Publishers Association, an organization of the leaders of most black newspapers published in America, honored Golden for his journalistic advocacy. In addition, other black organizations such as the Elks Grand Lodge and the Omega Psi Phi fraternity honored Golden for his advocacy on behalf of blacks. See Chapter 7 of this study for a discussion of Golden's institutional honors.

²⁶See Chapter 2 of this study for a discussion of amplification.

²⁷See Chapter 7 of this study for a discussion of Golden and the civil rights community.

²⁸See Chapter 2 of this study for a discussion of the typologies of press facilitation of the black civil rights movement. See Chapter 4 of this study for a discussion of the relationship between the press and the civil rights movement.

²⁹Other white journalistic advocates included people like Ralph McGill, Harry Ashmore, P.D. East, and Hodding Carter. See Chapter 4 of this study for a discussion of them. See Chapter 6 of this study for a discussion of the closing of the Israelite. See Chapter 4 of this study for a discussion of the press and the civil rights movement.

³⁰Golden Sunday Morning CBS.

³¹See Chapter 1 of this study for a discussion of Golden's outlets for advocacy and a discussion of research related to this study.

³²See Chapter 6 of this study for an overview of Golden's national television appearances.

³³See Chapter 7 of this study for a discussion of Martin Luther King, Jr.'s "Letter from Birmingham City Jail," in which white journalistic civil rights advocates are mentioned.

³⁴See Chapters 2 and 4 of this study for brief discussions of television and the civil rights movement.

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- Randolph, A. Phillip. Letter to Harry Golden. 28 Aug. 1970. Box 17 File 10. Harry Golden Collection Part II. U of North Carolina at Charlotte.
- Reid, Ogden. Letter to Harry Golden. 29 April 1972. Harry Golden Collection. William Goldhurst Private Holdings, Gainesville.
- Randolph, A. Phillip. Letter to Harry Golden. 10 Sept. 1963. Box 17 File 10. Harry Golden Collection Part II. U of North Carolina at Charlotte.
- Randolph, A. Phillip. Letter to Harry Golden. Jul. 1966. Box 17 File 10. Harry Golden Collection Part II. U of North Carolina at Charlotte.
- Ryan, William. Letter to Harry Golden. 25 Jul. 1969. Box 8 File 27. Harry Golden Collection Part II. U of North Carolina at Charlotte.
- Semans, Mary. Letter to Harry Golden. 19 Jul. 1979. Harry Golden Collection. William Goldhurst Private Holdings, Gainesville.
- Scott, Hugh. Letter to Harry Golden. 26 May 1964. Box 20 File 18. Harry Golden Collection Part II. U of North Carolina at Charlotte.
- Secrest, Mac. Letter to Harry Golden. 24 Nov. 1964. Box 20 File 12. Harry Golden Collection Part II. U of North Carolina at Charlotte.
- Taylor, Roy. Letter to Harry Golden. 14 Feb. 1973. Box 20 File 17. Harry Golden Collection Part II. U of North Carolina at Charlotte.
- Truman, Harry. Letter to Harry Golden. 9 Mar. 1965. Box 19 File 64. Harry Golden Collection Part II. U of North Carolina at Charlotte.

- Vivian, C.T. Letter to Harry Golden. 6 Oct. 1964. Box 19
File 5. Harry Golden Collection Part II. U of North
Carolina at Charlotte.
- Wachtel, Harry. Memorandum to American Foundation on
Nonviolence Board of Directors. 26 Apr. 1966. Box 11
File 29. Harry Golden Collection Part II. U of North
Carolina at Charlotte.
- Walker, Wyatt Tee. Letter to Harry Golden. 2 Jul. 1962. Box
32 File 686. Harry Golden Collection Part I. U of North
Carolina at Charlotte.
- Walker, Wyatt Tee. Letter to Harry Golden. 6 Nov. 1963. Box
19 File 5. Harry Golden Collection Part II. U of North
Carolina at Charlotte.
- Walker, Wyatt Tee. Letter to Harry Golden. 4 May 1964. Box
19 File 5. Harry Golden Collection Part II. U of North
Carolina at Charlotte.
- Wilkins, Roy. Letter to Harry Golden. 13 May 1964. Box 14
File 1. Harry Golden Collection Part II. U of North
Carolina at Charlotte.
- Wilkins, Roy. Letter to George Abernathy. 16 June 1969. Box
14 File 1. Harry Golden Collection Part II. U of North
Carolina at Charlotte.
- Wilkins, Roy. Letter to Harry Golden. 6 Feb. 1961. Box 14
File 1. Harry Golden Collection Part II. U of North
Carolina at Charlotte.
- Wilkins, Roy. Letter to Harry Golden. 11 May 1963. Box 14
File 1. Harry Golden Collection Part II. U of North
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- Wilkins, Roy. "Statement" for Harry Golden Day. 19 May 1969.
Box 2 File 37. Harry Golden Collection Part II. U of
North Carolina at Charlotte.
- Yarborough, Ralph. Letter to Harry Golden. 9 Dec. 1964. Box
20 File 18. Harry Golden Collection Part II. U of North
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- Zelenko, Herbert. Letter to Harry Golden. 13 June 1962. Box
20 File 17. Harry Golden Collection Part II. U of North
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Awards

Agudas and Beth Israel Brotherhoods. "Man of the Year" Plaque to Harry Golden. 14 April 1959. Awards Series Box 159. Harry Golden Collection Part I. U of North Carolina at Charlotte.

American Jewish Committee Anti-Defamation League. "Distinguished Journalism" Plaque to Harry Golden. 18 June 1959. Awards Series Box 159. Harry Golden Collection Part I. U of North Carolina at Charlotte.

Abraham Brith. "Grand Master Award" Plaque to Harry Golden. 27 June 1960. Awards Series Box 159. Harry Golden Collection Part I. U of North Carolina at Charlotte.

Carver College. Plaque to Harry Golden. May 1955. Awards Series Box 159. Harry Golden Collection Part I. U of North Carolina at Charlotte.

City Council, City of Chicago, Illinois. "A Resolution" on Harry Golden. 6 Oct. 1981. Harry Golden Collection. William Goldhurst Private Holdings, Gainesville.

Elks Grand Lodge. "Lovejoy Award" Plaque to Harry Golden. 24 Aug. 1964. Awards Series Box 159. Harry Golden Collection Part I. U of North Carolina at Charlotte.

National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. "Hall of Fame" Plaque to Harry Golden. 23 May 1986. Awards Series Box 159. Harry Golden Collection Part I. U of North Carolina at Charlotte.

National Federation of Temple Brotherhoods. "Man of the Year" Plaque to Harry Golden. 15 Jan. 1959. Awards Series Box 159. Harry Golden Collection Part I. U of North Carolina at Charlotte.

National Newspaper Publishers Association. "Russwurm Award" Plaque to Harry Golden. 15 March 1958. Awards Series Box 159. Harry Golden Collection Part I. U of North Carolina at Charlotte.

Old North State Medical Society. Plaque to Harry Golden. 16 June 1965. Awards Series Box 159. Harry Golden Collection Part I. U of North Carolina at Charlotte.

Omega Psi Phi. Plaque to Harry Golden. 1 May 1960. Awards Series Box 159. Harry Golden Collection Part I. U of North Carolina at Charlotte.

P.S. 20 Alumni Association. Certificate to Harry Golden, 19 June 1959. Awards Series Box 159. Harry Golden Collection Part I. U of North Carolina at Charlotte.

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH


Clarence Walter Thomas was born in Norfolk, Virginia, on June 15, 1954. He attended public schools in Norfolk, and graduated from Lake Taylor High School in 1972. Thomas attended Hampton Institute and graduated with a B.A. in mass media in 1976. While attending Hampton, he worked at the campus radio station WHOV-FM and at WTAR-TV (now WTKR-TV) the CBS affiliate in Norfolk. Thomas also attended Syracuse University and graduated with a M.S. in television-radio in 1977.

Between 1978 and 1986, Thomas served as the first Mass Communication Coordinator in the Department of Communication Arts at Winston-Salem State University (WSSU) in North Carolina. In that capacity, he was responsible for the initial development, implementation, and supervision of a minor and a major (B.A.) in mass communication. Thomas also served as the founding general manager of the WSSU campus radio station, WSNC-FM. In addition, as an Assistant Professor he taught various mass communication courses.

In August of 1986, Thomas entered the Ph.D. program in mass communication at the University of Florida. He completed requirements for the degree in August of 1990. He is married and has one child.

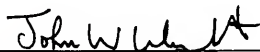
Thomas is a member of the Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication (AEJMC), the American Journalism Historians Association (AJHA), Alpha Epsilon Rho National Honorary Broadcasting Society, and Alpha Phi Alpha Fraternity, Inc. His work has been published in the Journal of Popular Film and Television. He has also presented papers to the 1989 AEJMC Southeast Regional Colloquium and the 1989 AJHA National Convention.

I certify that I have read this study and that in my opinion it conforms to acceptable standards of scholarly presentation and is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a dissertation for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.



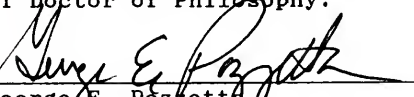
F. Leslie Smith, Chair
Professor of Journalism and
Communications

I certify that I have read this study and that in my opinion it conforms to acceptable standards of scholarly presentation and is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a dissertation for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.



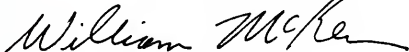
John W. Wright
Professor of Journalism and
Communications

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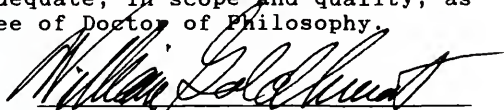
George E. Pozzetta
Professor of History

I certify that I have read this study and that in my opinion it conforms to acceptable standards of scholarly presentation and is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a dissertation for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.



William McKeen
Associate Professor of
Journalism and Communications

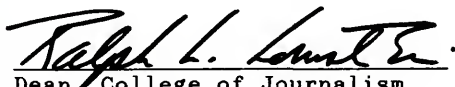
I certify that I have read this study and that in my opinion it conforms to acceptable standards of scholarly presentation and is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a dissertation for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.



William P. Goldhurst
Professor of English

This dissertation was submitted to the Graduate Faculty of the College of Journalism and Communications and to the Graduate School and was accepted as partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

August 1990



Dean, College of Journalism
and Communications

Dean, Graduate School

UNIVERSITY OF FLORIDA



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